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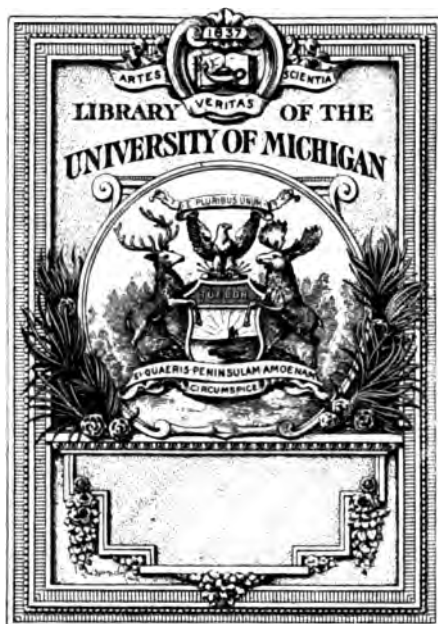
ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATIONAL WORK IN
AMERICAN JUVENILE REFORM SCHOOLS

BY

DAVID S. SNEDDEN, A. M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF
EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO

1917

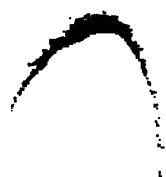


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THERE are in the United States at the present time about 96 institutions engaged in the education of children who are technically known as delinquents. The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903 reports that these institutions had, during that year, a total of 34,422 inmates, taught by 644 teachers and cared for by a force of 2,275 men and women as matrons, guards, teachers of trades, parole officers, etc. More than four-fifths of these children are boys. The value of the land, buildings, and other kinds of plant is given at \$23,362,543 which is probably a decided under-estimate, as many institutions fail to report the value of plant. For that year the running expenses were reported at \$3,788,127 or an average of \$110 per capita. Notwithstanding that there are few of these schools in the Southern States, those reporting the race of their inmates give 26,576 as white, and 4,755 as colored. The Report further indicates that of the inmates 21,603 are learning trades.¹

The above figures give roughly a measure of one system of education in America which has evolved during the last 80 years. The juvenile reform school has not sprung from our public school system but has grown partly in connection with charity and philanthropy, and partly in connection with the departments of justice and penology. In a very true sense the work undertaken by these institutions has represented more fully the idea of state education than has the work of any other part of the educational system. For in these schools the entire round of educational effort must be compassed. That

¹ *Rep. of Com. of Education, 1903: 2288.*

which in a normal society is done by home and church and shop to supplement the work of schools must here be performed by the one institution. And more: it has been the mission of these schools to take, not the normal child, but the abnormal, the neglected, the perverted; and, by educative efforts to measurably reshape the warped character and mind with which they have had to deal.

The educational work of juvenile reform schools has had few points of contact with the general system of public and private education of this country. The problems to be worked out have been so special and peculiar, as to make it impossible for the workers to find in the public school system much of suggestion. Likewise, the public schools have failed largely to co-operate with and learn from juvenile reform schools. The result is that we find in the history and present development of education for juvenile delinquents an evolution of ideals, traditions, and methods having a fairly unique character, and much suggestiveness to the educator. Hardly any other system of education is so immediately tested by results as this; for the juvenile delinquent is a marked character in society, and the effects of his contact with the school are visible and much observed. The efforts of philanthropists and the intelligence of our ablest penologists have produced the ideals under which the schools have taken shape. In many instances the supervision of voluntary agencies, as State Boards of Charity, has been superior to the supervision prevailing in public education. Under these conditions, the juvenile reform school has never been able to slight or evade the problems of what is currently termed "integral education"—education that is at once physical, moral, intellectual, and vocational. However imperfectly these schools have accomplished their work, it is nevertheless true that they represent to-day the most persistent, comprehensive, and effective experiment in the domain of education that is available to the student. Hampered by slow public recognition, inadequate and underpaid service, the traditions of the parent prison system, the evils of partisan control, and the absence of a consistent philosophy of education,

they have nevertheless accomplished much of fruitful work in their own field and have produced a body of imperfectly organized educational knowledge and method which should be made available.

The aim, then, of the present study, will be to describe as fully as circumstances permit the educational ideals, methods, and results of these institutions with a view to their more popular comprehension and use. The history of the evolution of the schools and also their development in foreign countries will be touched on only so far as these may prove to be helpful in realizing the above aim.

Apart from the reports of the schools themselves and some material contained in reports of various state boards, it is interesting to observe that the great amount of writing on the general subject of juvenile reformatories is in the form of material for propaganda. From the beginning of the movement in the closing years of the 18th century keen-sighted and philanthropic men and women have seen the need and possibilities of educational institutions of this type. In their speculations these people have often anticipated the main lines along which the schools have finally developed. Convinced of the rightness and feasibility of their cause, they have addressed themselves to converting the reluctant public to their point of view; and the result has been the amassing of books, articles, and proceedings, all designed to heighten interest in the subject but giving, unfortunately, little concrete material upon which the student may rely for actual record of achievements. The movement has been in the nature of a great missionary enterprise, always looking forward, and taking little account of ground actually covered. But at the present time much more is being done in the way of quantitative record of practice and results, and we may confidently expect these institutions and the educators working in them soon to produce many definite studies of educational value.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL

IN the popular mind the juvenile reform school is always associated with the prison system of the state. This popular conception is justified by the fact that the school is historically an offshoot of the prison system, and has borrowed many of its traditions and methods from the latter, somewhat humanized however by contact with the workers and institutions in the field of charity.

While sporadic efforts at the saving of delinquent children are noted in the work of church and state in many past centuries, it is probably true that the general movement in this direction which has had its development mainly within the last eighty years, traces its concrete origin to the interest in prisons which manifested itself in England in the last years of the 18th century. When a movement looking to the reformation of adult criminals was started it was soon found that the work had been begun too late to be of much service. Child criminals, imprisoned with hardened offenders, soon became habituated to their associates and to the vice of the jails. As a result of agitation and the rousing of public conscience there came into existence in London, "The Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents." From England the spirit of this work spread both to continental Europe and to America. Though many years were to elapse, even in England, before any large attempts to meet the problem of the reformation of child-criminals could be made, nevertheless excellent beginnings were made on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1824 the historic House of Refuge was founded in New York City; and two years later, Philadelphia, through a private organization.

of philanthropic citizens, also organized a House of Refuge which is still in active operation. Boston established the Municipal "House of Reformation for Juvenile Offenders" in 1827.

But after this the movement seems to have lagged for about twenty years. Before 1850 there were established in addition to the above only the State Reform School of Massachusetts, in 1848 (now Lyman School); the Western House of Refuge at Rochester, New York, in 1846, and a few privately supported homes, mostly for girls. The renewal of interest about 1850 led to the founding of many of the strongest of the schools which have carried their work down to the present time. Among those established between 1850 and 1860 were: The Connecticut Reform School, 1854; The New Orleans House of Refuge, 1850; The House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents, Baltimore, 1855; The State Industrial School for Girls, Massachusetts, 1856; The Michigan State Reform School, 1856; The Brooklyn Truant Home, 1857; The Cincinnati House of Refuge, 1850; The Ohio State Reform School, 1857; The Providence Reform School, 1850; and others in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.

Another period of interest in the movement lies between the years 1866 and 1873 during which many new schools were founded. As indicated above, the Reports of the Commissioner now show the existence of nearly a hundred of these schools. The newer states have usually founded one for each sex. In many cases the original juvenile reform school has been affected by the establishment of State Reformatories (for the correction of more mature youths and first offenders) and by the development of local agencies working in conjunction with the juvenile court and probation system, the former taking the older boys and the latter more carefully sifting the children committed.

Second in interest only to the movement which resulted in the establishment of juvenile reformatories has been the evolution of ideals and practices bearing on their scope, work, and results. It was inevitable that at first they should be only

prisons where youthful delinquents might be confined somewhat more humanely and with less danger of contamination than in prisons for adults. In the Seventy-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia House of Refuge is shown a cut of their first building—a great, low, quadrangular structure, with few and very narrow windows and these evidently heavily barred. But the prison character of the institution was even then being relieved by the better ideals of those directing the work. When the above home was opened, Mr. John Sergeant, the first president of the Board of Managers expressed its purposes thus to the citizens of Philadelphia “ We would remind you, in the first place, that the great end and aim of the House of Refuge is, in the strictest sense of the terms, a work of charity and mercy. . . . The Refuge is not a place of punishment; it is not a provision simply, nor even principally, for the security of society against offence, by the confinement of culprits, nor for inflicting the vengeance of society upon offenders as a terror to those who may be inclined to do evil. It presents no vindictive or reproachful aspect; it threatens no humiliating recollections of the past; it holds out no degrading denunciations for the future,—but, in the accents of kindness and compassion, invites the children of poverty and ignorance whose wandering and misguided steps are leading them to swift destruction, to come to a home where they will be sheltered from temptation, and led into the ways of usefulness and virtue”.¹ And from one of the rules of the Board: “ That the former conduct of delinquents be no further regarded in their treatment in the House than as furnishing an index to their character and of the discipline necessary in their respective cases, the design of the House being discipline, instruction, and reformation, not the punishment of the delinquent ”.¹

In the same connection it is interesting to note a judicial opinion delivered unanimously by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in the December term, 1828 in a case involving

¹ Quoted in an address by N. Dubois Miller delivered at the House of Refuge, June 25, 1889.

the rights of the House of Refuge to stand in "loco parentis": "The House of Refuge is not a prison, but a school where reformation and not punishment is the end. It may, indeed, be used as a prison for juvenile convicts, who would else be committed to the common jail; and in respect to these, the constitutionality of the act which incorporated it stands clear of controversy. . . . The object of the charity is reformation, by training its inmates to industry, imbuing their minds with the principles of morality and religion, by furnishing them with the means to earn a living, and, above all, by separating them from the corrupting influence of improper associates. To this end, may not the natural parents, when unequal to the task of education, or unworthy of it, be superseded by the *parens patriae*, or common guardians of the community?"¹

But these institutions were born of the prisons, and many years were to elapse before it was generally felt that prison traditions and practices could be dispensed with. Says Supt. Nibecker, who has given the subject careful study: "The first efforts (in the treatment of juvenile offenders) were primarily to save them from the demoralizing effect of association with older criminals in jails and prisons. The earliest institutions for juvenile delinquents were organized under the dominance of the prison idea. It may be true that such was not the conscious intention on the part of the pioneers of the work, who took it up long before the states were sufficiently alive to its importance to enter into it. But nevertheless the fact remains that when looked upon as history, there were present in the earlier provisions for the detention and care of children committed for violation of the law most of the characteristics of the prison treatment of adults, and few characteristics belonging properly to a regimen of education and development.

* In all regards this was true; the establishments were distinctively prison enclosures; the dormitories were blocks of cells; the dining-rooms were chambers of silence, with only

¹ Quoted in the 34th and 35th annual reports of the Conn. School for Girls, for 1904, p. 6.

the meagerest provision of the rudest table furniture; the earning capacity of those confined was exploited to the highest possible figure, and education in letters was only provided for during such hours as could not be profitably employed in work; and the greatest ambition and strongest claim for popular approval was a low per capita cost of maintenance."¹

At the risk of unduly multiplying quotation, it seems necessary to add the following, for it is an expression growing out of long experience with actual conditions and it undoubtedly pictures with considerable fidelity a situation which was common enough in the earlier stages of the development of juvenile reform schools: "These institutions were generally known as Houses of Refuge. In the refuge of early date (he alludes to the time from 1850 to 1870) and in some of them of recent times, prison and penitentiary methods were used and are still in use. The youth was confined at contract labor. Only the most meagre educational advantages were afforded him. His superior officers' first thought was the amount of money to be gained from his labor. When boys entered the institution, no matter what they had been committed for, they received the same treatment, and, according as they were big or little, the same classification. So, into one of two great divisions the boy was herded with several hundred other boys, without respect to their power for good or bad, and without regard to their want of training.

When bed time came he was taken to a large cell-hall, for decency's sake called a dormitory; in each hall were from 150 to 200 narrow cells, 5 x 8 x 6, tier on tier, with a single barred slit in one wall called a window and in the other a grated iron door fitted with a padlock or brake. To such a cell, whether used to a bed at home or a shakedown in a dry-goods box, the boy was taken. Behind the bars of his prison-cell the boy often gave way to his feelings in an agony of remorse and fear; and thus, amidst the shouted taunts of his companions he fell asleep. In the morning, awakened by the bell, he

¹ *Annals of Am. Acad. of Pol. and Social Science*, 23: 483.

hurried on his clothes, unless he had followed a general custom of sleeping in them, and, amid disorder, formed in line outside his cell. With the earthenware utensil used to receive excrement at night, he marched, in a slovenly line, to the slop sink and back, when he formed in line again for breakfast, down to the bathroom, where he washed or not as he pleased, and wiped upon roller towels used in common, by which nastiness and disease were often carried. He then went to the dining-room—a great, long, low, dull, dirty room, in which, before the dirty tables without cloths, or, when with them, food-stained, ragged and dirty, he sat upon greasy chairs to partake of his food. The food was usually sufficient in quantity, often bad in quality, and prepared and served as if it were food for swine or fowl. As it was cooked and served, so was it eaten.

Unless assigned to permanent kitchen vassalage, washing dishes, sweeping, making beds, scrubbing floors, or other duties that pertained to the care of the institution, he was taken to the shop and there taught to cane chairs, to make shoes or clothes, under the joint watchfulness of an overseer for the institution and an overseer for the contractor. By these men he was assigned to a task; and woe be unto him if he did not soon learn to complete it. If a good boy, he tried to do his best. Perhaps some envious fellow inmate, whose feelings had been deadened by much institutionizing, sought to place obstacles in his way so that the boy who set out with a determination to do his best soon found his way beset by hindrances that his untrained faculties had not the power to overcome. Thus, if he were not a rare boy, he soon found himself “pegged,” or on the overseer’s list, to go to the finishing room where the strap man came around at the appointed hour each day. The boy was thus placed between the frying-pan of hard labor and the fire of severe corporal punishment. Upon the yard at play he met the same opposition and was assailed on all sides, until, unless a most exceptional boy or a dullard, he, in despair, added one more to the ranks of his tormenters, and became either a covert or open schemer against the government of the institution.

When work was slack or wanting, long hours of idleness were his in which to morally degrade himself and his fellows and to plan all kinds of villiany.

In school he fared no better. The rote system of teaching, then in vogue, did not attract his limited powers of attention.

I do not know how the officers were appointed or selected but I do know that of one set of men, more than fifty per cent were discharged for cruelty, misconduct, drunkenness, and gross immorality with the boys. Yet the institution was called a reformatory. But it did not leave the boys entrusted to its care in as good condition as when they were received. It forced them to bow under the lash, under long confinement in dark cells, on bread and water, and other punishments. It did not teach them to obey. By herding boys of all ages, sizes, and impressionability into two great divisions, it taught vice alike to the innocent and the vile. It did not seek to provide occupation alike for hand and brain, but it taught a trade or part of a trade in which the boy did not find the mental interest and employment that should serve to keep his mind from vicious thoughts, that should train him to higher and better things. The old institution marred the boy; it did not make him. To the old institution we owe it that at one time refuge boys furnished a little less than one-fourth of the prison population and 29 per cent of the habitual criminals in prison."¹

From these conditions the evolution of the modern juvenile reform-school at its best has been a marked, but by no means a uniform process. Here and there individual schools, under the leadership of some unusually keen and sympathetic men or women, have reached high standards of excellence. A long and patiently fought local campaign has usually been necessary to secure the establishment of such schools; and it is still true that many states have as yet no juvenile reform schools. The state-controlled schools have passed through discouraging periods when they were used by the politicians.

¹ Goler, *N. C. C. C.*, 1896: 353.

for patronage. Nevertheless, as one compares the conditions of one decade with those of another, the general progress noted can hardly be said to be less than that found in the best of the other institutions of the republic.

The following are the more notable features in the development: (a) The physical welfare of the children committed to the institution has come to be more carefully attended to. Generally speaking, it would seem that to-day in the average school the pupils are well off in the matters of food, shelter, clothing, cleanliness, health, and exercise. In other words, nurture as a factor in the general education of these boys and girls has been fairly well realized in recent years. Not that conditions are ideal; the necessities of economy, the location of some of the institutions, the ignorance and inattention of many officials, prevent as full a development of the side of physical nurture as is desirable in many instances; but results attained are favorable when contrasted with the previous conditions of the institutions and frequently with the home conditions of the children themselves.

(b) Again, the change in discipline has been very marked. Relics of prison discipline have largely disappeared in the modern school and there is a tendency to approximate the conditions of the better boarding schools. Corporal punishment, solitary confinement, and various devices for humiliation and torture, while not wholly discarded, have been largely replaced by other means of procuring not only control, but also moral development. The history of the rise of the more humane spirit in the practice of these institutions is part of the larger history of the decline of severity in church, home, school, and prison.

(c) The gradual rise of the cottage system, in the estimation of the students of the subject, is also important. Very early the ideal had developed that the reform school should, as nearly as practicable, reproduce the conditions of the good home. Attempts to realize this end were difficult on account of the greater expense in land, buildings, and service required; and on account of the supposed increased difficulty of control.

But after much experiment and effort the cottage system has come to prevail in various forms, and institutions not so organized are striving in that direction.¹

¹ Miss Mary Carpenter, one of the great apostles of juvenile reform work in England, visited America in 1873, and her frank discussion of results as she found them here undoubtedly contributed much to the cottage movement. In her address to the National Prison Association she says: "The duty of educating young delinquents, not punishing them, was recognized in Philadelphia, New York, and other places and carried into effect long before the principle was accepted by the mother country. But, the circumstances of the country considered, better principles than those which were first adopted in those early reformatories have now been introduced into Europe (1873), and are generally adopted in the Old World.

"In all cases it appears to me (and this view is generally adopted in Great Britain) that up to the age of fourteen the child who has not such a home as will prepare him to take his place in society and is deprived, whether by the course of nature or by human laws, of parental control, should be placed by the state, representing society, in a condition as nearly as possible resembling a good home. Hence, in all cases, I object to large institutions for children where individuality is destroyed and where there cannot be any home influence. The surroundings of the young persons thus brought into the artificial atmosphere should correspond with the natural mode of life so far as is compatible with sanitary conditions, order, and propriety; while the education and industrial training should be such as to prepare them to discharge well the duties of the condition of life which they may be expected to fill.

"The older reformatory schools of New York and Philadelphia were established on the congregate plan. That at Westboro (Mass.) was established later, but the family system was never fully adopted in it and the various serious catastrophes indicate an entire want of the family spirit. From all I heard, it was a juvenile gaol. I carefully visited the New York Reform School on Randall's Island. It is a splendid institution and managed with great care and effort; but it is carried on, it appears to me, on a false principle. There is no natural life or freedom; young men of an age to have large experience with vice are associated with young boys; all arrangements are artificial; instead of the cultivation of the land which would prepare the youth to seek a sphere afar from the dangers of large cities, the boys and young men were being taught trades which would confine them to the great centers of an overcrowded population. The girls were being carefully taught, and even too much attention was being paid to their personal comfort; *but they were prisoners; they were not being prepared for a home life, which is the best life for a woman, and could not be so under existing circumstances.*

"In Philadelphia the same remarks must be applied to the large, prison-like building for boys and for girls. Hundreds of youths were there congregated under lock and key. However good were the arrangements, they

(d) With the development of the cottage system there have grown up various systems of classifying the inmates. This classification has been sometimes along lines of age and physical development, sometimes on the basis of the offence for which the child is committed, and sometimes on the basis of moral or intellectual development after entering the institution. Each system has had its defenders and is still more or less on trial; but in a general way, the system of extensive classification has greatly improved the morale and effectiveness of the institution.

(e) Another feature of the reform school which has undergone marked development is that of industrial education. The earlier institutions were workhouses, but the work was slavish, the child was conscious of no advantage to himself, and the trade learned was not one that could be followed afterwards. The manual training movement which began in this country with the Exposition of 1876 gave the schools new ideals and since then there has been a marked tendency to substitute for the old productive forms of labor those which, while making the institution more expensive to its supporters, would nevertheless give the child a better industrial education.

(f) It has always been recognized that the children committed to the reform schools were far behind the normal child in point of intellectual attainments. A notable part of the work of these schools has been the development of a system of education usually called literary which should put the inmates somewhat on an equality with children outside. In the better schools a decided attempt is made to apply the courses of study used in the public schools, but it has taken long and patient effort to reach this standard, in view of the variety of other work which the institution has been expected to perform.

entirely failed to convince me that the principle was good on which the institution was formed.

"The State Reform School at West Meriden in Connecticut formed an admirable exception and was worthy of all praise. It was a farm-school and succeeded admirably." (*Nat. Conf. of Char. and Cor.*, Proc. 1875: 66-77.)

(g) The older schools, affected by their prison traditions and lack of facilities, gave little attention to the discharged inmate. As a consequence, the work of the institution was frequently undone by the return of the child to a bad home, or to his failure to find a suitable home, if without parental care. Individual schools did what was possible to remedy this condition, by improving and safeguarding the conditions of indenture, by co-operating with the home, and by keeping in touch with the boy or girl after leaving. The wisdom of this policy has finally developed the general parole system which is now recognized as an indispensable part of the work of reform schools.

(h) The establishment, in quite recent years, of juvenile courts and probation has led to a more careful screening of offending or neglected children, and the present result is that the reform schools, where juvenile courts exist, get a somewhat more incorrigible class of children, and in fact the schools tend to become institutions for that residue of delinquent children who cannot be handled by the co-operation of home and probation officers.

(i) Other special devices for improving the work of the schools are the introduction of a partial wage system, and self-government. These are still in an experimental stage.

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(Many of the above papers are chiefly valuable as showing the progressive development of ideals of reform work.)

CHAPTER THREE

RELATION TO THE STATE

IN the United States today the support of reform schools is derived from the state with only a few exceptions. But it is historically true that many of the schools started under private auspices and only later were able to appeal effectively to the public treasury for aid. One consequence of the fact that the earlier schools were started as philanthropic ventures is that some of the oldest and strongest are still controlled by private corporations which usually provide for all extraordinary expenditures, the state making appropriations for running expenses. In New York several of the largest schools as the Catholic Protectory, the New York Juvenile Asylum, the George Junior Republic, and the New York House of Refuge are managed by private corporations, while the Western House of Refuge near Rochester and the New York Training School for Girls at Hudson are in government as well as support, state institutions. Of the two great schools in Pennsylvania one is privately, and one publicly controlled. Maryland has several schools privately controlled but receiving subventions partly from the state and partly from Baltimore; the city and state, however, usually having the right to name some of the managers. Illinois has some private schools but is rapidly making provisions for state-controlled schools. Connecticut and Wisconsin have strong girls' schools which were started under private auspices and have continued so.

But in the large majority of instances in America these schools, like the prisons and public schools, have come to be state institutions in every sense of the term. Their foundations have been laid by special appropriations made by legislatures, and a board of trustees or managers is appointed by

the governor, or other public agency. In some instances the state still collects from the counties sending boys or girls the quota necessary for their support. The object of this is not wholly to more effectively distribute the burden of the education of these children, but is partly designed to prevent certain sections from sending too freely of their dependent or delinquent population. But, generally speaking, the tendency is towards making the support of these schools a matter of state concern, with no reference to local taxation.¹ The state must, of course, protect itself from imposition and there has been a notable tendency to draw a sharp line of demarcation between dependent and delinquent children in state institutions, while those under philanthropic direction combine the care of the two classes in many cases.

In the control and government of reform schools no characteristic plan is discoverable. Each state is carrying on experimental work, and, in the matter of size of board, length of term, and other features, conforms somewhat to local traditions. A board of five trustees, appointed by the governor is found over both the boys' and the girls' schools in Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, and the Girls Industrial School of Illinois. The more compact board of three members is found in California (two boys' schools), Michigan, Indiana, and Oregon. The new State Training School for Boys in Illinois has seven trustees, while a board of seven managers governs the two schools in Massachusetts. (Girls' School at Lancaster and Boys' School at Westboro). Six members compose the governing bodies of the Maine School for Girls and the New Jersey School for Boys; and the New Jersey School for Girls has eight trustees.

An interesting feature is found in the legal provision for the appointment of women as trustees of some institutions for girls. One of the board for the Michigan Girls School must be a woman; two out of the 6 members for the Maine Girls School; 3 out of 5 in Colorado; and the entire board of three members in the Indiana Girls School.

¹ See *Mo. Rep.* 1904 for discussion.

In a few states it has been found desirable to provide a state board which should have more or less complete control of all state institutions dealing with defectives, dependents, and delinquents. This development has found its justification in the increased economy which it was believed would result from having all institutions managed under one financial plan and the various lines of work co-ordinated. It has also been believed that extravagance, incompetency and dishonesty might in this way be more successfully combated in state institutions. In some respects this plan of government is still under trial and it is not now possible to say what have been its effects on the reform schools. The states that have been conspicuous in this direction are Rhode Island which has a state board of nine unsalaried members, appointed for four years; Wisconsin, Board of 5 members; Iowa and Minnesota, Boards of Control, salaried, holding office for six years, three members on each board; and Kansas.

It may be noted that the government of these institutions connects with the government of the public schools at almost no point. In Maine the State Superintendent of Public Schools is an ex-officio member of the board for the Girls School; and in Oregon (at least, this was the situation four years ago) the State Superintendent of Schools constituted one of the Board of Trustees of the State Reform School, the Governor and Secretary of State being the others. But in practically all other cases the machinery of government for these institutions has been independent of any connection with the public-school system.

The governing boards of the privately controlled institutions are frequently self-perpetuating, although a variety of devices are in vogue whereby subscribers and others interested in the welfare of the institution may exercise an influence. The boards are usually much larger than the boards of the state institutions, as it is desirable to affiliate as many benevolently disposed people as possible with the institution. Herein, of course, lies the strongest justification for private control of reform schools. The interest and sympathy of a

large number of people of philanthropic motives is believed by many to be the surest guarantee of the performance of good work, especially along the lines of personal and missionary effort, in redeeming the wayward ones who come to these institutions.

The Connecticut Girls School has a self-perpetuating board of 15 members representing different parts of the state; with the governor and two other state officials as ex-officio members. The Chicago Refuge for Girls has eight trustees, all men, and a board of managers composed of 38 women. The Illinois Manual Training School Farm has a board of 12 members. The New York Juvenile Asylum has a board of 20 directors. The Thompson Island Farm School of Boston has 16 managers. Usually the system of election is complex, the subscribers having the right to elect certain managers.

In some localities it has become customary to require, on the part of the city or state contributing to the support of the school, representation on the private boards which control the schools. It has already been noted that the state of Connecticut has three ex-officio members on the board of the Girls' Home. The Home of Reformation for Colored Boys in Maryland has a board of 16 of whom 12 are elected by subscribers, 2 by the state, and 2 by the city of Baltimore. In the same state the St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys has a large board of Trustees on which board are three representatives each from the state of Maryland and the City of Baltimore. These schools, and others in Maryland governed in the same way, are required to make reports to the state. The Industrial School of Reform of Louisville has on its board 7 members elected by donors and 8 appointed by the General Council of the City of Louisville. The House of Refuge of Philadelphia, one of the oldest and largest institutions of its kind, has a board of 20 managers, each elected for three years to which are added 3 appointed by the Court of Common Pleas and 2 by the Mayor of Philadelphia.

A few schools which are in all respects reform schools but also bear the characteristics of Parental Schools naturally

have their government in connection with the city to which they belong. Such is the Chicago Parental School which is governed by the City Board of Education. The Newark City Home has a board of six, composed of four elected members and two appointed by the City Council. Under a new statute in Ohio, the management of all city institutions is put under the control of a Board of Directors of Public Service, this including the Cincinnati House of Refuge within the authority of the Board of Public Service of that city.

Juvenile reform schools belong to that class of public institutions which greatly need the support and direction that comes from enlightened public opinion. In its more complex activities and where the stimulus of private gain does not enter, society is slow to appreciate and understand the work of special institutions. There has been a constant need, therefore, of organized effort to enlist public interest and to bring about public enlightenment in the education of defective and delinquent children. A large number of minor agencies have contributed to this end, but especial attention must be called to two. The first is the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. At the annual meetings of this body the active and interested workers among dependents and delinquents have come together and organized the results of their experience. Visiting members have been inspired to return to their own states and conduct an active propaganda for improved conditions. Superintendents and other workers in reform schools have met here and exchanged views. Beginning in 1870, this national organization has annually published its proceedings and it is easy for the student who takes up the volumes serially to discover the evolution of ideals and practices in the organization and conduct of reform schools. From time to time its more energetic workers have compiled statistics which show the progress of reform work. Before this body have appeared the greater humanists and idealists in the work of protecting and bettering childhood, and listening to these, have been the men and women who have been facing the practical problems of institution life for many years. The net

result has been a very remarkable movement in the direction of higher and more effective social action.¹

The second great agency to be described is closely related to the first, for it was the coming together of various State Boards of Charity and Correction that first created the national conference.

As usually constituted, a state board of charity and correction (titles vary considerably in the different states) is an unsalaried body officially appointed to supervise the administration of charity and correction within the state. Financial provision is made for the employment of a secretary and other clerical aid and a more or less comprehensive report is published for each meeting of the legislature. Broadly speaking, the functions of such a board are two: as experts they seek to co-ordinate the penal and charitable activities of the state, through advice, supervision, and, in some cases, actual control; and the board through its annual report and otherwise, becomes a medium of publicity regarding the activities and expenditures of all those performing this work. In these two capacities these boards have had very great usefulness, and year by year charity workers in states not yet having such boards are striving to organize them. Naturally, the effectiveness of such a board depends largely on the kind of men who volunteer to take up the work. It is easy, therefore, to understand why so many active workers in the fields of charity and correction have regretted to see the growth of a tendency to make of these boards actual governing bodies for state institutions as has been done in Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa; or to increase their powers as has been done in some other states.

In the introduction of higher standards into the government and maintenance of reform schools, these boards have been most active. Through participation in the National Conference of Charities and Corrections the members have learned of the best that was being accomplished outside their states;

¹ See Hart, *The Relation of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections to the Progress of the Last Twenty Years*, N. C. C., 1893: 1.

and on returning have usually striven to improve local conditions and work. In its supervisory capacity such a board has been capable of exerting much influence in the direction of curtailing corporal punishment and correcting or preventing many abuses that might tend to grow up, especially in connection with state-supported and state-controlled institutions.

These state boards have also been instrumental often in giving vitality and effect to the meetings of state conferences of charities and corrections. In some states, as New York, Ohio, and Indiana, the state report of the board also contains the proceedings of the state conferences, thus giving a double publicity to charitable and correctional work.

Usually these boards have commanded the respect of the public and of legislators and have, therefore, been able to present the needs of the respective institutions in ways that have been effective, both in eliminating the sectional "pull," and in providing decent support. In this direction, of course, their successes have been, to a considerable extent, determined by their conservatism. In some states the State boards have provided for uniform systems of accounts and by a variety of devices of checking the bookkeeping and expenditures of institutions have done much to make dishonesty unprofitable and extravagance obvious.

A very significant part of their work has been in connection with the kind of service employed in state institutions. From the start it has been inevitable that a certain amount of favoritism and political wire-pulling should find its way into those state agencies which spend much money and employ large numbers of men and women in whom, owing to the kind of work to be done, it becomes difficult to prove inefficiency. For the correction of these and other evils necessarily involved in state systems of charitable and penal administration, the public has had to look to its state boards. These have dealt with the problem of appointing members of the staffs of institutions in various ways. For many years active agitation for civil service has prevailed. Little has been accomplished along this line and it is possible that other administra-

tive devices for procuring efficient service are proving sufficient, when disinterested and careful supervision is taken into account.

Speaking generally, then, the juvenile reform schools of America represent a body of institutions in which state and church and independent philanthropic endeavor have concentrated their efforts in the direction of preventing crime and the growth of criminals. The state generally acknowledges its interest by the fact that it gives support; but it is obliged at many points to call to its aid the supplementing power of voluntary philanthropic effort.

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CHAPTER IV

SCOPE, DISTRIBUTION, AND TEACHING FORCE

It is possible in this account to describe only briefly some of the more important aspects of the administration of the American reform schools. Deriving their support usually from the state and also receiving their inmates through commitment from the courts, they have many points of contact with public administration. A study of the following tables will show that these schools constitute in the aggregate a very important part of public education, an education which becomes especially significant when considered in connection with its great cost and the special character of the boys and girls participating in it. Various statistical items are reduced to a per capita basis, because by this means an approximate comparison is possible between institutions of the same or different classes.¹

As early as 1857 attempts were made to collect statistics of reform schools of America. Barnard's Journal for that year² has a table in which is set forth the main facts regarding schools already established, especially as regards finances, term of detention, and offences for which inmates were committed. The Reports of the Commissioner of Education have since 1867 contained statistical tables formed by sending out to all schools blanks to be filled in. In the absence of more detailed information, these tables provide an acceptable general survey of the extent of the movement in the United States. The following table, taken from the last avail-

¹ For good discussion see: Hart, H. H., *The Economic Aspect of the Child Problem*, N. C. C. C., 1892: 191. Coler, Bird S., *The Subsidy Problem in New York City*, N. C. C. C., 1901: 131.

² Page 811.

able Report gives the facts for the United States as a whole and for the five groups of states taken separately:

TABLE NO. 1.

STATISTICS OF REFORM SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. (From Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1903; 2288.)

STATE.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils.	No. Taught Trades.	Inmates.			Value of Plant.	Expenditures.	
					Male.	Female.	Total.		Buildings and Improvements.	Support.
United States.....	96	644	31,468	21,603	27,602	6,820	34,422	\$23,362,543	\$564,241	\$3,788,127
N. Atl. Div.....	34	238	13,231	10,027	11,590	1,890	13,480	12,105,335	208,934	1,588,481
S. Atl. Div.	16	57	2,957	1,947	2,837	357	3,194	1,824,301	30,564	202,393
S. Cent. Div.	7	41	1,544	456	1,658	746	2,404	505,000	10,700	113,223
N. Cent. Div.	31	264	12,517	8,283	10,285	3,640	13,925	8,116,371	253,391	1,598,354
West. Div.	8	44	1,219	890	1,232	187	1,419	811,536	60,652	285,676

	Inmates Committed and Discharged During Year.		Race of Inmates.		Nativity of Inmates.		Illiteracy when Admitted.		No. of Assistants Besides Teachers.
	Committed.	Discharged.	White.	Colored.	Native Parents.	Foreign Parents.	Could only Read.	Could not Read.	
United States.....	12,757	12,698	26,576	4,755	13,352	7,169	2,888	2,192	2,275
N. Atl. Div.....	5,428	5,498	9,376	1,234	4,225	4,001	656	1,038	929
S. Atl. Div.	1,089	1,057	1,985	1,094	1,844	38	458	345	192
S. Cent. Div.....	588	776	1,698	516	320	121	228	30	156
N. Cent. Div.	5,177	4,920	12,202	1,807	6,066	2,780	1,433	759	858
West. Div.	475	447	1,315	104	897	229	113	20	140

The above table is not at some points exactly descriptive of reform school work. Recently penal practice tends to make a distinction between a reform school and a reformatory, the latter being now used to indicate a prison for first offenders over sixteen and usually less than thirty or twenty-five years. The Concord Reformatory in Massachusetts and the Elmira

Reformatory in New York are examples of this type. But the state reformatory at Pontiac in Illinois has until quite recently been receiving also many youths under sixteen who should, strictly speaking, be regarded as reform school children. Some of the schools for females also have been receiving young women, as the Chicago Erring Women's Refuge for Reform.¹

Again, in a few institutions, no distinct line has yet been drawn between delinquent and dependent children. The Catholic Protectory in New York, for example, receives both classes, as does a few other institutions maintained under private auspices.

Under the head, "number of pupils," the schools usually report the total number that have been in the institution in the course of the year. Remembering that the average term of detention in the institution is about two years, it is evident that the average attendance will be considerably below the totals given above.

But few safe inferences from the above table can be drawn regarding the character and distribution of juvenile crime. Several states have no schools as yet for youthful criminals.² In those states having schools it is by no means certain that the number of children committed bears any certain relation to the amount of crime. Some of the schools are crowded and are forced to refuse inmates. In places magistrates are loth to commit children to these schools and other devices of justice are employed. It appears that schools for girls have less than one-fifth of the total number of children, a fact susceptible of various interpretations. Possibly it indicates that homes control girls more effectively than they do boys; possibly the fact that the offences of girls, not less serious socially, are nevertheless less subject to penal treatment than the offences of boys, may explain part of the difference; and finally, it is true that public or state interest in the saving of

¹ Now called the Chicago Training School for Girls.

² Arkansas, Idaho, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, North Dakota, North Carolina, South Carolina, Utah.

girls is much less active than in the case of boys. To some extent this last fact is offset by the special interest manifested in rescue-work by certain philanthropic bodies like the sisterhoods in the Catholic Church.

Though a satisfactory comparison of the relative numbers of colored and white children committed is impossible owing to the absence of comparable population statistics (in southern states where negroes are most numerous, reform schools are in many cases entirely wanting), nevertheless it is apparent that in the states having the schools negroes contribute far more than their average of offenders. More than one-sixth of all the pupils are colored whereas the ratio of negroes to the population of the entire country is one in seven, roughly. Opposed to this, of course, is the contention frequently made by negro writers that the children of negroes coming into northern states are exposed to varied temptations and to the possibility of sundered family relations in somewhat the same way as the foreigner.

The proportion of children of foreign parents is very large and probably confirms the general belief that a large proportion of children committed come from foreign born families. It should be noted, however, that the children sent to reform schools usually come from certain social or economic classes—those of the level of unskilled labor; hence it is entirely probable that, *economic condition considered*, native born parents send as many children to reform schools as do foreign born parents. The same consideration might also affect our estimate of the extent of negro juvenile crime.

The following table, constructed on the basis of Table no. 1 displays some of the facts regarding the existing schools, reduced to the basis of various units:

TABLE NO. 2.

	Average No. of Inmates per School.	Average No. of Inmates per Unit of Staff.	Average Value of Plant per Inmate.	Average Cost of Maintenance per Inmate.	Average No. of Inmates per Teacher.
United States	359	11.8	\$679	\$110	52
N. Atl. Div.	397	11.6	891	118	57
S. Atl. Div.	200	12.8	572	64	56
S. Cent. Div.	343	12.2	293	47	59
N. Cent. Div.	449	12.4	583	115	53
West. Div.	177	7.6	522	201	32

In view of the fact that the above tables do not give the average daily attendance or the maximum attendance present at any one time, they are somewhat unsatisfactory as a basis of comparison; for it is obvious that the school in which the average term of detention is short needs relatively less plant, money for support, and staff, than one in which the term is long, judged by the total enrollment of the year. For example, though the table indicates that the per capita expense for support is much less in the southern than in the northern schools, we are not prepared to say that this indicates a less running expense in terms of average daily attendance, unless we know that the term of confinement is somewhat the same in the south as it is in the north. Again, the schools of the western division appear to have a very high per capita cost of maintenance; but it is true that some of these schools serve practically as reformatories to which boys are committed for definite sentences, so the period of detention may be quite long and so, partly, account for the apparent high cost of support. In other respects comparisons are unsatisfactory because of the absence of the average daily attendance.

Roughly, however, the data is suggestive. For example,

the annual cost of education per pupil averages \$110 in reform schools. In city day schools the median cost of education is about \$24 per pupil.¹ In other words, the boy who has broken the laws must be educated at a cost nearly five times as great as the boy who has not, this, of course including his support which must be provided.

The following tables are constructed on the basis of material shown in the reports of those schools that give adequate statistics of their finances and attendance. In some cases the bases of comparison vary slightly. For example, the item "salaries," occasionally includes the cost of parole service, which, in other instances, does not appear at all as an expenditure of the school. The total number attending includes in two or three known instances a few children who were detained for only a few days pending court examination. It is impossible, too, to say with definiteness what the item of maintenance includes. Often minor items of expenditure for repairs cannot be excluded, though the effort has been to exclude anything in the way of extraordinary expenditure.

¹ See Elliott, *Fiscal Aspects of Education*, Teachers College Record, 6: 96.

TABLE NO. 3.
SHOWING PRINCIPAL FINANCIAL FACTS OF TYPICAL BOYS' SCHOOLS.

BOYS' SCHOOLS. (ABRIDGED TITLES.)	Value of Plant. ¹	Value of Plant Per Capita of Average Attendance.	Total Running Expenses.	Total Expenses Per Capita.	Support (Except Sal- aries — Per Capita.	Salary Per Capita of Attendance.	Total Enrollment for Year.	Average Enrollment.
California (Whittier)	\$269,000	\$896	\$101,773	\$339	\$181	\$158	300	116
California (Preston)	250,000	2,155	49,562	427	212	215	116	116
Connecticut	200,000	471	76,278	156	97	59	635	495
Chicago Parental	175,000	461	65,050	171	92	79	511	380
Illinois Manual Training	276,000	750	51,734	141	77	64	368	368
Indiana	153,000	273	63,500	113	73	40	561	561
Iowa	300,000	594	64,020	125	89	36	727	513
Kansas	175,000	825	66,965	235	164	71	336	212
Louisville House of Refuge	300,000	688	67,264	154	109	45	593	436
Maine	150,000	1,027	29,522	202	127	198	146	146
Maryland House of Refuge	200,000	1,099	29,514	162	103	60	354	182
St. Mary's, Baltimore	400,000	760	77,420	119	97	22	874	580
Baltimore House of Refuge	250,000	1,190	41,876	199	121	78	318	210
Massachusetts (Lyman)	321,000	955	81,175	247	147	95	676	336
Michigan	307,000	453	82,308	122	94	28	677	677
Minnesota	350,000	1,054	67,787	204	131	73	333	333
Missouri	375,000	812	70,000	171	127	44	601	409
New Jersey	125,000	298	76,000	181	127	176	176	176
Newark Home	160,000	1,066	35,000	233	142	91	215	150
New York Juvenile Asylum	1,070,000	1,173	107,648	118	118	118	1649	912
New York House of Refuge	2,649,799	3,021	175,173	199	114	85	1450	877
Western (Rochester)	658,216	747	189,258	215	122	93	1511	881
Ohio	750,000	853	138,417	159	112	47	877	877
Cincinnati House of Refuge	1,183,000	2,600	72,792	163	118	45	870	445
Philadelphia House of Refuge	1,000,000	1,325	148,000	196	136	60	1134	755
Pennsylvania	1,000,000	1,605	105,798	169	111	58	623	623
Rhode Island .....	.....	.....	57,410	167	111	85	660	344
Wisconsin	248,800	797	72,772	233	150	85	507	312
Berkshire School (New York)	50,000	676	19,726	207	176	91	111	74

TABLE NO. 4.
SHOWING PRINCIPAL FINANCIAL FACTS OF TYPICAL GIRLS' SCHOOLS.

GIRLS' REFORM SCHOOLS. (ABRIDGED TITLES.)	Value of Plant. ¹	Per Capita Value of Plant.	Annual Expenditure for Ordinary Purposes.	Per Capita Ordinary Expenditure.	Per Capita Expend- iture Except for Salaries.	Per Capita Expenditure for Salaries.	Total Annual Enrollment.	Average Enrollment.
Connecticut	\$230,000	\$874	\$44,896	\$171	\$122	\$49	337	263
Illinois	140,000	868	39,275	192	108	84	278	204
Indiana	75,000	361	37,326	179	111	68	278	208
Iowa	100,000	490	28,864	141	94	47	243	204
Maine	60,000	769	14,867	191	128	63	111	78
Massachusetts	140,000	690	44,462	214	130	84	278	203
Michigan	172,000	493	74,886	214	162	52	439	249
New Jersey	128,000	1054	28,166	233	173	60	162	121
Ohio	300,000	949	29,943	95	41	54	407	316
Pennsylvania .....	.....	.....	34,840	285	196	89	212	122
Rhode Island	50,000	1090	4,039	88	.....	.....	74	46
Wisconsin	176,000	778	27,442	122	77	45	316	226

¹ From Report of Commissioner of Education, 1903; 2288.

² Total enrollment is for two years.

³ Report for 1904, previous to leaving New York City.

⁴ Plant includes Girls' School.

⁵ From Report of Commissioner of Education, 1903.

The tables have been compiled mainly from data provided by the schools themselves. With few exceptions, the schools included in the two tables are the larger institutions; and nearly all of them receive public support. Private institutions seldom publish or have available satisfactory financial or other statistical statements. The results here presented must be accepted as approximate only, for purposes of comparison. For example, it is not always possible to draw a definite line between ordinary or running expenses, and money paid for some extraordinary purpose. Under some circumstances, too, there is not an exact line between salaries and expenses for maintenance in other respects. As a rule, however, only those schools have been listed of whose finances it was possible to obtain a fairly reliable statement.

Interesting variations are shown which suggest possible lines of inquiry. Of course a complicated series of causes enter into per capita statements, and it is difficult to make safe inferences. For example, a large per capita expenditure might be due to high local cost of living; or to extraordinary efficiency of the school in expert service, excellent equipment, etc.; or to extravagance and mismanagement; or to a relatively small attendance with reference to the equipment and force needed by the school. Roughly, the annual expense for maintenance of these typical schools is about \$170 for girls and \$180 for boys, the mode or median measure being used as a basis of estimate. The actual expense of each pupil to the state or to society must, of course, include other items, such as interest on value of plant which would range from \$25 to \$50 on the per capita of annual attendance and expenditures for repairs.

The variations in salary expenditure are suggestive when taken in connection with the efficiency of the school. These will be discussed in the section dealing with the staffing of these schools. Low salary expenditure may indicate cheap and efficient service or insufficient service, or, on the other hand, the successful employment of devices for economy. For example, the very low salary expenditure of the Iowa Boys

School is partly due to the extensive employment of inmates at moderate stipends for the performance of responsible service.

In the growth of juvenile reform schools their supporters have had continually to meet the objection that the state could not afford to expend money for this class of defectives or delinquents. The following table shows that, both in point of numbers and of annual expense, the state is doing far less in this direction than in others. This, of course, is no justification of the reform school unless it can be shown that such a school, by preventing crime and preserving to society useful members, ultimately gives back far more than it receives. There are those who emphatically assert that society, in taking effective educational charge of a boy whose conditions predispose him towards a criminal career, and in making him a useful social member, makes a more profitable investment, both from the standpoint of charity to the individual and that of the welfare of others, than it can by expending equal money in any other possible way. Penologists estimate that a criminal, both in and out of prison, actually costs society something like \$2,000 per annum in the loss of his own productive power and in his depredations while out of prison and his cost while in it. The cost of educating a boy in the reform school, for something over 2 years, is considerably less than \$1,000, everything being taken into account. If this prevents the making of a criminal and at the same time makes a productive citizen, then certainly the money is a wise social investment. The following table shows the cost, per capita, of various classes of the charges of society in certain typical states:

TABLE NO. 5.
SHOWING COMPARATIVE PER CAPITA COST OF STATE INSTITUTIONS IN TYPICAL STATES.¹

	Boys' Reform School.	Girls' Reform School.	School for Feeble-minded.	State Orphanage.	School for Blind.	School for Deaf.	Insane Asylum.	Insane Asylum.	Insane Asylum.	Reformatory.	State Prison.	State Prison.	Old Soldiers' Home.	
Average attendance.....	513	198	908	459	155	241	1002	973	953	441	417	689	Iowa. ²
Annual per capita total expense	\$250	\$291	\$320	\$268	\$369	\$407	\$298	\$300	\$291	.....	\$407	\$424	\$357
Annual per capita salary expense	72	96	118	93	152	196	102	98	91	.....	189	201	106
Average attendance	315	226	602	149	94	184	425	614	206	575	Wisconsin. ³
Annual per capita total expense	\$204	\$122	\$162	\$275	\$244	\$269	\$243	\$235	.....	\$216	\$198	.....	.....
Average attendance	569	256	936	513	118	315	1737	835	686	976	795	.....	640
Annual per capita total expense	\$128	\$157	\$129	\$206	\$318	\$233	\$184	\$172	\$176	\$148	\$149	\$165	Indiana. ⁴
Average attendance	314	.....	826	248	74	256	143	147	1418	218	575	.....	.....
Annual per capita total expense	\$215	.....	\$169	\$166	\$291	\$219	\$144	\$182	\$142	\$292	\$177	.....	.....
Annual per capita salary expense	74	61	66	150	122	57	72	55	109	71	Minnesota. ³
Average attendance	877	309	1090	790	300	503	1125	1200	1437	663	1554	.....	1243
Annual per capita total expense	\$158	\$181	\$170	\$223	\$269	\$245	\$108	\$165	\$162	\$187	\$203	.....	\$163
Annual per capita salary expense	46	71	68	80	101	135	35	41	44	97	84	35	Ohio. ⁴
Average attendance .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Annual per capita total expense .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

¹ Not all prisons or insane asylums are included.

² Report of Board of Control, 1903.

³ Report of State Board of Charities, 1904.

⁴ Report of State Board of Control, 1904.

The table suggests, among other things, that a very high cost at present attaches to the education of the blind and deaf. In these schools expert and highly paid service is needed and is procured. It is possible that when, in reform schools, the need of equally well paid service is recognized and met, better results will be shown for the work. Certainly no one can study these schools without realizing the tremendous potency of vital and sympathetic personality and trained teaching capacity in contributing to the success of the work.

With reference to the scope of juvenile reform school work, it is probable that full development has, as yet, by no means been attained. Many states have no such schools; those states having them seldom have enough accommodation for all that should be committed; and, in respect to many forms of teaching, even the best schools are not yet realizing their possibilities.

If the adage, "as is the teacher, so is the school" holds of the day school, it is apparent that in much greater degree it must also hold true of the class of schools here under consideration. For in these schools the members of the staff—broadly, the teaching force—must stand in the varied relations of teacher, parent, master workman, and moral guide to the children under their charge. Notwithstanding the fact that much of the labor in reform schools is done by the children inmates, it must nevertheless be true that a large force of employees is required to perform the various educative functions required in institutions where work of such broad scope is attempted. Teachers of the customary literary branches in the schools; teachers and directors of various forms of industrial labor; house fathers and mothers, who teach or act as guards or serve in various other capacities, and assume parental charge of the cottages; parole officers and clerical helpers—all these are needed to carry on the work. For many of these posts it is difficult to procure the type of officers who will combine the various qualities requisite. For example, the man or woman who takes charge of the printing shop must be, in the first place, a good all-around printer;

but he must, furthermore, be a man who can really *teach* this work also—must be able to stimulate interest in it, to draw out the best efforts of the boys who are set to learn the trade; and he must add those social qualities which will enable him to successfully lead and manage boys, not only in the shop but in such other capacities as he may be required to fill. The farmer who knows well how to farm and at the same time to stimulate a dozen or more boys to take an active rather than a purely perfunctory interest in soil cultivation is hard to find; and the farmer who can add to the above qualities the ability to lead boys to *study* farming and learn its principles is rare indeed. Even in the matter of teaching the ordinary school subjects it is by no means easy to find the teacher who effectively combines good scholarship with that fine sympathy and pedagogic insight which enables her to take her pupils, already strongly prejudiced against school work, and awaken in them a love for learning and a desire to put forth systematic effort. Generally speaking, it is true that if these schools are to accomplish the special work which they now aim to do, they require a high grade service and a service which demands the utmost skill in its selection and training.

Remembering that the schools never do have enough money wherewith to meet their needs, it is not difficult to understand that they are never able to command entirely the kind of service required. Seldom indeed are they able to employ outright, except in the higher positions, those who have had training. More commonly, they find it desirable to take young men and women and train them to the peculiar work of the school through actual experience. Even under these conditions, the salaries paid are apt to be insufficient to hold those who develop considerable ability. It has been asserted that the type of man or woman who can really succeed in teaching must have a combination of qualities which would enable him to succeed in a great variety of callings in other fields. It is not improbable that the same is true of the work of the reform school. The man who can succeed in really leading—not driving—the kind of boys and girls here found, and

in a couple of years greatly change their characters, must possess qualities which would lead to success in many other lines. Hence the fact that the reform school that develops an effective worker is apt to lose him to other callings promising greater returns for his efforts. The result is that the superintendents or managers are obliged to struggle more or less constantly to secure and retain the kinds of workers that are at all suitable. Many of the teachers and directors of industries, admirably equipped in other particulars, break down in the matter of discipline. They tend either to undue severity or undue laxness of control, both of which are peculiarly fatal to the effective handling of the kind of boys and girls here under consideration.

In the government of these schools it has become more and more common for the board of managers to select with great care the superintendent and then to hold him responsible for the selection and training of his subordinates; for a large part of the work of the superintendent must still consist in training the young teachers and other workers employed. In some states, judging by discussions appearing in proceedings of the state conferences of charities, and other bodies, it would seem that political considerations even yet affect the appointments in some cases; and the character of the employees put into these offices by political favor and retained by "pull" can be more easily imagined than described.

The following table shows the number of staff officers and the number of inmates averaged per officer in typical institutions:

TABLE NO. 6.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE MEMBERS OF STAFF, AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF INMATES TO UNIT OF STAFF OF CERTAIN TYPICAL SCHOOLS.

	Average No. of Inmates.	No. of Men on Staff.	No. of Women on Staff.	Average No. of Inmates per Unit of Staff.
Connecticut School for Boys	425	26	23	8.7
Indiana Boys' School	561	28	18	12.3
Kansas Boys' Industrial School	212	23	14	5.8
Maine State School for Boys	146	11	16	5.2
Maryland House of Reformation	182	23	5	6.5
Baltimore House of Refuge	210	27	4	6.8
Lyman School for Boys (Mass.)	336	28	28	5.7
Michigan State Boys' School	677	28	32	11.3
Missouri Training School	409	27	8	11.7
New Jersey State Home	419	32	22	7.7
Philadelphia House of Refuge	755	40	44	9
Wisconsin Boys' School	312	35	19	5.8
Iowa Industrial School (Girls)	204	6	19	8.2
Maine Industrial School (Girls)	78	2	10	6.6
Massachusetts Industrial School (Girls)	203	(49 total)		4.2
New Jersey State Home (Girls)	121	5	20	4.8
Philadelphia House of Refuge (Girls)	122	2	25	4.5
Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls	226	3	22	9.1

The above table is significant in two or three respects. It shows that, generally speaking, the larger schools are more economical in that they can work with a considerably larger number of inmates per unit of staff. It also shows that the girls' schools require a larger force relatively than the boys' schools. As contrasted with the statistics of years ago, this table shows that women are playing a much larger part in the staffing of boys' schools. There was a time when it was gravely discussed whether it would be feasible to employ women as teachers and caretakers in these institutions; but experience has demonstrated their competence for the work and their number is, relatively, increasing.

Since the average term of attendance at any of these schools is in the neighborhood of two years, the entire number of children confined at some time during the year will be

approximately a half greater than is shown in the above averages. Again, it must be pointed out that there is no necessary connection between the efficiency of the school and the relative number of staff. Other things being equal, the schools in the above list with the smallest number of children per unit of staff, will have the greater number of teachers, parole officers, etc., and therefore will be the most efficient. On the other hand, a relatively large staff could, conceivably, be due to lax management or the influence of politics in procuring many appointments. It should further be noted that a school must keep a certain force which is independent of fluctuations in attendance. Teachers of industrial subjects, as printing, must be retained whether the attendance is large or small. The same is somewhat true of guards, matrons, and teachers.

The following table shows the distribution of salaries paid in some typical schools. These salaries, it must be remembered, include maintenance which is provided by the institution. It is often true that the hours of service are long and that teachers must also act as matrons, so that managers frequently find it difficult to obtain people willing to give the extra service.

TABLE NO. 7.

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF SALARIES IN SOME TYPICAL SCHOOLS. THE NUMBERS IN THE VERTICAL COLUMNS INDICATE THE NUMBER OF STAFF HAVING MONTHLY SALARIES RANGING BETWEEN THE SUMS GIVEN AT THE TOP. EXCEPTIONAL SALARIES ARE INDICATED AT THE RIGHT.

	Less than \$17.50 per Month.	From \$17.50 to \$22.50.	From \$22.50 to \$27.50.	From \$27.50 to \$32.50.	From \$32.50 to \$37.50.	From \$37.50 to \$42.50.	From \$42.50 to \$47.50.	From \$47.50 to \$52.50.	From \$52.50 to \$57.50.	From \$57.50 to \$62.50.	From \$62.50 to \$67.50.	Above \$67.50.
Iowa Boys ¹	29	6	10	2	4	10	1	3	..	2	..	1 at \$150.
Lyman (Mass.) Boys .....	..	1	6	3	29	..	..	6	..	..	2	2 at \$91; 1 at \$193.
Michigan Boys .....	..	9	15	..	1	3	..	10	..	..	..	1 at \$83; 1 at \$100; 1 at \$166.
Minnesota Boys and Girls.	1	3	..	8	8	6	4	3	6	2	..	2 at \$76; 1 at \$83; 1 at \$92; 1 at \$150.
Missouri Boys .....	..	2	3	3	..	4	..	17	..	..	..	1 at \$75; 2 at \$110; 1 at \$125.
Wisconsin Boys .....	..	14	3	5	3	13	2	8	..	2	..	1 at \$83; 2 at \$100; 1 at \$208.
Washington Boys .....	..	..	1	..	3	6	3	2	1	..	..	1 at \$135.
Total Boys	30	35	38	21	48	42	10	49	7	4	4	
Colorado Girls	1	..	..	..	1	4	..	1	..	..	..	1 at \$100.
Massachusetts Girls .....	..	2	13	16	11	1	2	3	1	..	..	1 at \$125.
Michigan Girls .....	..	..	8	15	9	1	3	1	..	..	1	1 at \$118.
Iowa Girls	2	8	6	6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1 at \$100.
Total Girls	3	10	27	37	22	7	5	5	1	..	1	
General Totals	33	45	65	58	70	55	15	54	8	4	5	

From this table it is evident that the employees of reform schools tend to fall into three groups, from the standpoint of salaries. There is first the group whose salaries center about the sum of \$35 per month; a second group with salaries having a mode of \$50 per month; and a third small group of administrative officers with salaries above \$100 per month. It may be remarked that, in the totals for the girls' schools, there

¹ The large number in the first column for this school indicates inmates who received a small stipend.

is no such tendency towards grouping at the \$50 salary. In fact, generally speaking, in the boys' schools the women teachers and the matrons receive the lower salaries; this, probably being one of the reasons for their introduction. It seems to be true, however, that, as compared with teachers in the public schools, the workers in juvenile reform schools are fairly compensated, when it is recalled that they are under almost no expense for living. But it is generally claimed that the life is hard and monotonous except to the small number who go into it with genuine missionary spirit; and there is little chance for promotion. It is quite commonly believed among superintendents that some system of pensions would greatly improve the character of those employed and would also affect the morale of the school. What is wanted in this field of service is that people should prepare themselves for the work and should go into it with a determination to remain and succeed. At the present time, many teachers and others who settle down in the schools are not persons of great energy or ability, but they find in the routine and home furnished by the institution something preferable to an active life outside. One is impressed with the fact that, if reform school work is to succeed, the staff must be largely composed of active people who can consciously and sturdily resist the somewhat benumbing influences of their environment, keeping themselves fresh and enthusiastic.

Some attempts were made to discover the extent to which teachers and others employed possessed professional training. Some of the larger schools make it a point to employ as teachers only graduates of normal schools or certificated teachers who have already attained success in public or private schools. Others find it desirable to take the younger employees who have learned to work with the children and have them prepare themselves for the work of teaching. In this case the school gives all the professional training that the teacher has. Specific data on this point is not obtainable at present.

Manual training teachers, as now employed, usually have some professional training; but outside of this, it is not pos-

sible to say what proportion of teachers have any special preparation for their work. For industrial teachers, the schools most commonly take men who have some recognized skill as workmen and in the institution try, by supervision, to have them acquire the additional qualities which will make of them teachers and disciplinarians. As may easily be imagined, this is the most responsible work devolving upon the superintendent. Where, as has happened not infrequently in state institutions, the places in the school are filled as political rewards, the superintendent is powerless to effect dismissals and frequently to control the conduct and efforts of the employee. This has led to the general belief among workers in this field that effectiveness in institutional work demands that the superintendent be given full control of the employment and dismissal of employees and that he be then held strictly accountable for the effectiveness of the work done by the institution. Many earnest students of the subject also believe that civil service offers a solution of the problem of selecting efficient staff members; but there is yet considerable doubt as to whether civil service examinations can at all satisfactorily test the personal qualities which constitute so large a factor in fitness for this work.

In the privately controlled institutions, the staff is made up frequently of members of one religious faith. Naturally, in Catholic institutions, of which there are several in the United States, the staff is composed of members of a religious order. These, by virtue of their being habituated to institutional residence and also owing to the fact that they do not work for pay, seem to have certain advantages in juvenile reform school work. Continuity of service is certainly more possible. On the other hand the fact that the children trained in these institutions remain only two or three years in the institution, after which they must largely make their own way in the world, seems to give certain advantages to the school whose staff is made up of people closely in touch with the activities of the practical world. An extensive development of the parole system certainly shows that it is well for the children

committed to reform schools that they have at all times about them adults who know the world in a practical way. No others can so effectively influence their knowledge and ideals and come into touch with them. Recent developments in juvenile court and probation work tend to emphasize this.

CHAPTER V

CHILDREN COMMITTED

THE intimate hereditary connection of the juvenile reform school with penal institutions on the one hand and with the voluntary system of public charity on the other has led to much confusion with reference to those who should come within the control of the school. The line of demarcation between delinquents and dependents has not been easy to draw, especially as thoughtful persons began to see that an offending child was usually more sinned against than sinning. "The delinquent child," said one, "is in fact pitifully dependent." One of the earliest schools of this type in England was for the children of parents who had been executed.¹ The Philadelphia House of Refuge, under its first articles of incorporation, received only those who were charged or convicted of criminal offence, or taken as vagrants. But in 1835 the law was amended so as to make possible the reception of any child whose parent would make affidavit that it was incorrigible. In the case of neglected or abandoned children, courts have often yielded to the temptation to send them to reform schools, even though the child was in no sense an offender, but because the care there provided would be of a superior character. This, of course, mainly in the case of children from 12 to 15 years of age. In the case of girls' schools, the tendency is to commit girls who are in danger of falling into vice.

Many schools publish reports of the ages of the children at commitment. The grouping of a few of these will show adequately the relative proportion of children of various ages to be dealt with. The schools taken are usually typical.

¹ Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for Children*.

TABLE NO. 8.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Age at Commitment.														
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		
Connecticut Girls ¹	2	68	74	84	136	191	265	365	481	3	2	1		
Connecticut Boys ²	12	44	99	268	674	801	1062	1213	1285	1339	362	44	25		
John Worthy (Chicago)	1	8	22	46	83	98	148	153	31	..	..
Indiana Boys	2	6	8	23	17	22	28	43	48	8	4		
Kansas Boys.....	3	15	30	24	30	55	72	98	..	..	..
Maine Boys ³	5	65	91	210	268	382	441	474	468	92	19	6		
Maryland House of Reform.	15	15	20	18	21	16	4	2	..		
Maryland House of Refuge	2	5	7	5	8	11	10	14	7	5	..		
Massachusetts Girls.....	1	..	3	10	15	37	50	56	..		
Massachusetts Boys ⁴	5	25	115	231	440	615	748	897	778	913	523	179	17		
Massachusetts Boys ⁵	9	17	74	163	412	754	1215	75	13	3	..		
Michigan Girls.....	8	11	55	66	134	267	386	539	498	2	..		
Wisconsin Boys	24	37	43	41	42	74	42	30	..		

¹ "Previous years of school."² Since founding, 1854.³ Since opening.⁴ Previous to 1885.⁵ 1885-1904.

It is not possible here to enter into a discussion of the causes which lie at the roots of the social disorder known as child delinquency. Among these, doubtless, are the imperfect heredity from parents who should not be parents; economic conditions which separate families or deprive parents of opportunity to keep in intimate touch with their children; the congestion of population; and many others. Much attention has been given in recent years to certain instinctive tendencies on the part of children under unfavorable conditions to revert and undergo arrest of social development.¹ It is believed by many that a certain small but persistent percentage of children are naturally anti-social in character, or moral imbeciles.² These, of course, prove unamenable to ordinary home and school influences.

But, except in a very few cases, it is impossible to prove the existence of hereditary defects of character, since, in the

¹ Hall, *Adolescence*; and studies published in the Pedagogical Seminary. MacDonald's book on *Criminology* (N. Y., 1893) has extensive bibliography.

² See Kerlin, *N. C. C. C.*, 1890: 244.

case of those committed to institutions, the vast majority have been subjected to an unfavorable environment which could in itself be deemed sufficient cause of their failure to develop along right lines. There are those in Prussia who attribute the rapid increase of child crime to the fact that under modern city conditions children must work and play, in large measure away from the control of parents. This must also be largely true under tenement house conditions generally. Mr. Mornay Williams attributes to the three conditions of motherlessness, crowding, and the streets, the production of most of the juvenile crime dealt with by the New York Juvenile Asylum. "Ninety-eight per cent of our boys come from the city," says the superintendent of the Boys' School in the State of Indiana, which state is certainly not characterized by a large urban population. "This condition cannot be otherwise, as there are so many avenues of vice and crime licensed by our municipalities, which, joined with a lack of interest on the part of many parents for the welfare of their offspring, and bad environment, leads them to become law-breakers."

In fact Riis and others have pointed out the connection between juvenile crime and the "gang" life of boys, as a result of which the boys possessed of greatest initiative and powers of leadership are the ones who reach the courts. "It is safe to say that 300 of the 365 boys in Glenwood are born leaders," says the Report¹ of the Illinois Farm School. "They are the captains—naturally so—and they are going to be the captains all through their lives. Each of these boys will control perhaps ten other boys. He will bend them towards the good or towards the bad." The experience of this school is unusual, however, in respect to the large number of vigorous boys it receives. The fact seems to be that the typical juvenile reform school receives a social residue made up of many essentially diverse classes, of which the physically and mentally undeveloped make the large majority.

¹ 1905: 10.

Parental iniquity in large or small ways is at the bottom of much juvenile delinquency. The following quotation indicates a conviction of many: "From careful observation of the causes contributing to crime in children, carelessness and ignorance of parents ranks first. The many ordinances forbidding natural plays for children, and lack of provision for natural playgrounds form another large factor; the arrest of children for trifling causes, familiarizing them with all that arrest means, contributes largely toward the starting on the downward path. Truancy and idleness do their part, as do crowded schools, insufficient kindergartens, etc." ¹

The Juvenile Court Movement (see discussion in chapter under that head) has in some places undertaken to compel parents to meet their responsibilities in this regard. It is proposed to accomplish this by imposing penalties on those who neglect children; and by making parents financially responsible for the maintenance of children who have been committed to state institutions.² In England there is some agitation on the ground that parents are taking advantage of the industrial or reform schools to support their children; and it has been proposed that the burden of proof to show that the parent is unable to support the child shall rest on the parent.

But, assuming parental culpability, there is still the question as to how far parents are in a position to be held responsible. It is said ³ that in New York deserting husbands are responsible for one-fourth of the children thrown upon institutions. Supt. Leonard of the Ohio State Reformatory found at one time that three-fifths of the inmates had come from "broken homes," that is broken by death, separation, divorce, immorality, etc. A study made by Dr. Goler ⁴ on some ten thousand records in the Western Refuge at Rochester, New York shows the imperfect records of commitments from 1849 to

¹ Drew, *19th Cent.*, 48:89.

² *The Problem of the Children*, Denver (1905), (*passim*).

³ Brandt, Miss L. and Baldwin W. H., *Family Desertion* (Charity Org. Soc., New York).

⁴ *N. C. C. C.*, 1896:352.

1895 to indicate that over 50% of the boys or 4618 out of 8862 had lost one or both parents by disease, divorce, separation, or desertion; and that 521 girls out of 790 committed or 63% were from similarly broken homes.

Many of the school reports give, though seldom adequately, the social and domestic relations of the children committed. Varying schemes of classification make it impossible to assemble these records; so a few will be chosen at random. The Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys¹ shows that of 333 boys committed, 205 or 61% had both parents living, while 125 or 38% were from "broken homes" (whole or half orphans, deserted by father, parents separated, mother insane, etc.) Of 191 boys committed to the Lyman Boys school in Massachusetts in 1904-5, 121 "had parents"; while 88 were of the broken-family type (8 had no parents, 31 had fathers only, 31 mothers only, 18 had parents separated), while 13 others had stepfathers, and 5 stepmothers; and in 77 cases the father was intemperate, in 4 the mother was intemperate, and in 7 cases both parents were intemperate.²

The Maine State School for Boys has preserved since its founding certain data as to "moral condition of boys when received," all of whom are offenders. Whole number received, 2,521; have intemperate parents, 839; lost fathers, 802; lost mothers, 639; relatives in prison, 311; step-parents, 476; truants, 1,073.³ Of 79 girls committed to the Massachusetts Girls School 26 had both parents at home; 30 had only father or mother at home, 10 had step-parents, and 2 had no parents.⁴

These semi-statistical presentations could be multiplied from the various reports, but the above examples are sufficient to show that, in a large number of cases, the parental condition of those committed is such that it is futile to look to the home for further help, either under moral or legal pressure. These figures also serve to show that we are unable to say definitely

¹ Rep. 1905: 266.

² Rep. 1906.

³ Rep. 1904.

⁴ Rep. 1906.

whether bad heredity lies at the basis of the difficulty, in parents and children alike, or whether the cumulative effects of an unwholesome environment are making themselves manifest.

In passing, note should be taken of some facts connected with juvenile delinquency which are yet incapable of interpretation. The various school reports publish records, for example, of the nativity of parents of the children; and of the religious faith reported. Until we possess an extensive census of social classes, these tables are of very little service in illuminating such questions, for example, as the effects of immigration, of various occupations, religious faith, etc., in relation to juvenile delinquency. It is frequently observed that a large proportion of the parents of these children are of certain foreign nationalities. But it also happens that these nationalities figure most prominently in the enumeration of unskilled or factory labor. It must be remembered that juvenile delinquency comes almost exclusively from the wage-earning class or from the semi-criminal classes. But foreigners constitute a large proportion of the wage-earning class; therefore, altogether apart from racial characteristics, we should expect them to show a large percentage of juvenile delinquency. Hence, for purposes of comparison, the figures of nationality and religion are at present unusable. We have not the statistics of the social classes from which the children are drawn to form a basis of comparison.

To the educator it would be of more than passing interest to know what is the school or academic education of those committed to juvenile reform schools. Of course, considering the environment from which the children come, with the attendant condition of neglect, poverty, vice, and the like, we naturally expect to find that the public school has made little impression on them. In a general way the records of the juvenile reform schools show this; but they do not show in any degree whatever the correlation of age with school attainment.¹ It is well known that many of the smaller boys com-

¹ Except the John Worthy School. Rep. 04: 14.

mitted surpass the older ones in degree of advancement, but no statistical statement of this fact seems to be possible from available data. A few illustrative figures from various schools will, however, give point to the well known fact that children committed have not taken any considerable advantage of public-school work.

The median age of boys committed to the John Worthy School in Chicago in 1904 was just over 14 years; while the median grade was about half way through the third. In other words, the children were nearly five grades behind where they should have been, if they and their school opportunities had been normal. The following table gives details:

TABLE NO. 9.
SHOWING THE CORRELATION BETWEEN AGES AND SCHOOL STANDING OF 590 BOYS
COMMITTED TO THE JOHN WORTHY SCHOOL OF CHICAGO, 1903-04.

AGES.	Grades.							Totals.
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	
From 8 to 9 years ..	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
From 9 to 10 years ..	3	6	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
From 10 to 11 years ..	5	10	9	1	.....	.....	.....	25
From 11 to 12 years ..	13	21	7	5	5	1	.....	52
From 12 to 13 years ..	15	21	19	11	8	1	1	76
From 13 to 14 years ..	10	29	26	13	14	2	3	97
From 14 to 15 years ..	13	30	37	19	25	5	.....	129
From 15 to 16 years ..	12	31	59	28	33	21	16	200
Totals	72	148	158	77	85	30	20	590

Of 209 boys committed to the Indiana Boys School for year ending October 31, 1903, 16 were between 8 and 11 years; 62 between 11 and 14; 119 were between 14 and 17; and 12 were older. But of these boys 8 were illiterate, 10 in first grade, 20 in second, 54 in third, 57 in fourth, and 29 in fifth, with 31 in grades above. Here again the median grade was well down in the third, while the median age was about 15.

Unfortunately, the absence of uniform schemes of clas-

sifying children on the score of school attainments prevents the presentation of a comparative table for many schools. The New York Juvenile Asylum has excellent statistics running back to the founding of the school, but the basis of educational classification is not by school grades. Of the children committed to this institution in 1904 (before removal to present site) 74 boys and 52 girls could not read; 19 boys and 3 girls could read only; 10 boys and 2 girls could read and write; and 484 boys and 114 girls could "read, write, and cipher." The median age of those committed was nearly 13 years. Of 46 girls committed to the Missouri Girls School the median age was 15 years; of these, 5 were "illiterate;" 25 could "read and write poorly"; and 16 could read and write "a little." The median age of 115 colored boys committed to House of Reformation at Cheltenham, Md., was 13; and 58 of these boys were illiterate, 37 "could read a little," and 20 "could read and write."

There exists no evidence that the educational backwardness of these children is usually due to their being naturally slow or intellectually deficient. In the literary department of the reform schools, as will be shown in the chapter on school education, they seem to make fairly rapid progress. There seems to be a residue who are somewhat feeble-minded or naturally dull, but an equal or greater number show themselves to be mentally very alert when they come under conditions of good physical nurture, persistent and wholesome discipline, and enforced systematic study.

There is a close relation, doubtless, between the characters of the class of children under consideration and the fact that in most schools, especially in town and city, the intermediate grades tend to become congested with those to whom further progress seems hopeless. Fourth and fifth grade teachers well know the tendency of big boys and big girls to crowd these grades. Up to this point promotion has not been difficult, but here a grade of work is reached which requires closer application and more systematic effort—something of which children who attend very irregularly and are held sometimes

under duress are quite incapable. The parental neglect, the loose living, the imperfect nurture of broken homes—these are alike responsible for the crowding of intermediate grades with incapables and for the fact that when a considerable number of these are committed to institutions they are found to show very meagre results of their possibly many years attendance at schools.

In a very true sense, the present teachers and the contemporary traditional organization of the schools can hardly be held responsible for this state of affairs. The school and its machinery of education are built for the average or normal child; and the magnitude of the work undertaken, as shown by the number of pupils assigned to each teacher, and the difficulty of providing special teachers, practically preclude the more special effort which would be necessary if this class of children were to receive the individual attention which they need. A later section on "special schools" will discuss this theme more fully.

It is impossible at the present time to give any satisfactory legal description of the upward of 12,000 boys and girls who annually in the United States find themselves committed to the juvenile reform schools. In many states they are, of course, committed for some technical offence, owing to legal necessity. But the great majority of the children belong to the wayward, incorrigible, or vagrant class, and the special offence alleged in commitment is usually but an incident in a more or less extended career of anti-social activity. An examination of the tables, "causes of commitment" given in many of the reports will indicate the more typical features in this connection. The Newark City Home New Jersey which is practically a parental or truant boarding-school enumerates as the direct causes of commitment, "disobedience, idleness, truancy, vagrancy, dishonesty, and viciousness." Out of 482 cases committed to the Wisconsin Boys Industrial School, among them 77 in age from 17 to 20 there were 151 "juvenile disorderly persons" and 178 for petit larceny. Vagrancy is credited with 47. This leave 106 or 22% to be

distributed among a great variety of offences of which older boys might be guilty, ranging from arson to forgery and horse-stealing. Of 96 received by the Baltimore House of Refuge, incorrigibility and vagrancy were charged against 69, larceny against 20, being "without proper care," or "having no place of abode" against 6; while only one was charged with more serious crime. Incorrigibility and vagrancy were the two charges on which 179 out of a total of 336 or 53% were sent to the Kansas Boys Industrial School; while the more serious offences of larceny, petit larceny, and grand larceny accounted for 29, 63, and 47 respectively. It is interesting to note that of these boys 285 came from towns or cities and only 51 from the country; and this in the agricultural state of Kansas. The Indiana Boys School, receiving inmates as old as 17 and a few still older, finds that incorrigibility is the offence of 78 out of 209; petit larceny 76; burglary, grand larceny, or robbing, 27; and truancy 8. The Maine State School for Boys shows that 62% of the 2,478 inmates committed since its founding have been charged with larceny (but during the past year 70% of the 43 committed were so charged) while truancy, "common runaway," vagrancy, and similar charges account for 561 more, or 23%. The crimes of larceny and "breaking and entering" were charged against 112 of the 191 boys committed to the Lyman School in Massachusetts in 1905, or about 59%; while stubbornness is charged to 51, or 26%.

Like the Maine School, the New York Juvenile Asylum publishes records reaching back to the founding of the school in 1853. This school has many features which distinguish it from the traditional reform school among which is the low average age of those committed, the median age for 38,930 children committed since 1853 being somewhat less than 12 years. During the period since founding, of those committed about 30% were "unfortunate"; slightly over 10% were charged with "pilfering"; 8% were vagrant; slightly over 10% were "bad and disorderly"; slightly over 2% were beggars or "peddling"; while nearly 40% were "disobedient

and truant." But of the 758 committed during 1904 42% were "unfortunate," 31% disobedient and truant, and 11% "pilfering."

In marked contrast with this is the record of commitments to the Missouri Training School for Boys which still partakes much, in spite of its name, of the character of a reformatory. Of 409 inmates on Dec. 31, 1904, 119 or nearly 30% had been convicted of burglary, and 181, or over 40%, of various forms of larceny, while only 30 were among the "incorrigibles."

In the case of girls' schools it is much more common to commit without specific offence, but on the ground that the girl is in danger of falling into vice. The necessarily vague character of offences for which girls may be sent to schools is shown in the following extract describing the "class of inmates" of the recently reorganized "New York Training School for Girls."¹ "In general, all girls between 12 and 16 convicted of any form of juvenile delinquency may be committed to this institution. Among the principal offences enumerated in the statutes are: frequenting the company of thieves or prostitutes, or being found associated with vicious and dissolute persons; wilful disobedience to parents or guardians; intemperate habits; vagrancy; any criminal offence; begging or receiving or soliciting alms; having been abandoned or improperly exposed or neglected by parents or persons in parental control; being in concert saloons, dance-houses, theaters or places where liquor is sold without being in charge of parent or guardian, playing any game of chance, etc." "Moreover, any girl under 12 may be in case she is guilty of a felony."

In the case of commitment to the Indiana Industrial School for Girls the following extracts from the law² reads: "... girls under the age of 15 years who may be committed to the custody of the school, in either of the following modes:

"1. When committed by any judge of the Circuit Court

¹ *Circular of Information*, issued Nov., 1904, p. 6.

² Indiana Statutes, Sec. 8,273, quoted in report of above school, 1904: 58.

on complaint and due proof, by the parent or guardian, that, by reason of her incorrigible or vicious conduct she has rendered her control beyond the power of such parent or guardian and made it manifestly requisite that, from a regard for the future welfare of such infant, and for the protection of society, she shall be placed under such guardianship (i. e. of the school).

"2. When such infants shall be committed by such judge . . upon complaint by any citizen . . that such infant is a proper subject for guardianship of such institution, in consequence of her vagrancy or incorrigible or vicious conduct . . . and that (her) parent . . is unable or unwilling to exercise proper care over such . . infant.

"3. When such infant shall be committed . . on complaint and due proof by the Township Trustee of the township where such infant resides, that such infant is destitute of a suitable home and of adequate means of obtaining an honest living, or that she is in danger of being brought up to lead an idle or immoral life."

The Report of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls¹ says:

"Several classes of girls are sent to us:

"First, young girls who, through lack of proper restraint and moral influence of the home, have strayed from the path of virtue, yet have no realizing sense of their degradation.

"Second, those who have been guilty of petty crimes and having a dangerous home-environment are committed to us.

"Third, the incorrigible and neglected.

"They vary in age from 9 to 17 years and are placed in different cottages according to their condition morally, and have absolutely no communication with girls of a different class."

Of 209 girls committed to the Michigan Industrial Home for Girls for the period ending June 30, 1904, 127 were simply charged with disorderly conduct and 22 with larceny; 21 were

¹ Rep. 1903-4: 11.

charged with truancy or allied fault. This school receives practically no one over the age of 16 and is well provided with isolated cottages for the complete segregation of inmates. The records for 12 years of the Iowa Girls School show that of 516 girls committed, almost all under 17, 371 were committed for incorrigibility and only 31 for crimes against person or property. The 1904 Biennial Report of the Minnesota State Board of Control¹ shows that in their State Juvenile Reform School out of 77 girls committed, 66 were accused of incorrigibility, vagrancy, or truancy, leaving only 11 charged with more specific offences (64 of these girls were from fourteen to seventeen years of age). Similarly vague are the statistics of commitment to the Massachusetts Girls School. Of 79 committed in 1905, the technical charge against 50 was stubbornness which simply means that it has been brought by the parent or guardian of the girl and may cover any offence, while 9 were charged with larceny; the remainder were committed for a variety of offences from vagrancy to absolutely disorderly conduct. This school receives girls not over 16 years of age; and maintains an extensive system of classification. It also has a separate home, the Bolton House some miles distant for the prolonged custody of girls who do not prove amenable to ordinary treatment.

It is of some interest to note in this connection that some girls' schools may refuse to receive a girl or refuse to retain her if she does not seem to be of a kind that can profit by the work of the school. In the Act relating to the Maine Industrial School for Girls we find:²

Sec. 7. The trustees of said school may refuse to receive therein any girl committed to said school . . . or may discharge from said school any girl whose continuance, by reason of her vicious example and influence, or other misconduct, is, in their opinion, prejudicial to the school, or who for any reason ought not to be retained therein. . . . If they discharge her, they are to set forth their reasons therefor in the

¹ Page 261.

² Rep. 1904: 29.

warrant of discharge, and any proper officer may return her to the court which committed her, or commit her as provided in the alternative sentence. This school does not receive any girls over 16 years of age.

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CHAPTER VI

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF REFORM SCHOOLS

I. GENERAL ASPECTS

THE organized educational effort of the juvenile reform schools can be discussed most appropriately under the four heads of physical, moral, vocational, and school or literary education. Since, as has been noted, the school must face the entire problem of education, it is inevitable that the matter of literary education, as given under ordinary circumstances should not receive a major portion of attention.

As a rule, the children committed to these institutions are in much need of nurture and the cleanliness necessary to health. They represent largely a neglected class and their waywardness has frequently kept them at a low stage of physical development. It is often noted that they are undersized.¹ Habits of eating and resting have not been formed and irregularity generally characterizes their lives. In the two years approximately during which the institution deals with them on the average, a large part of the effort is to put them right in this respect. Wholesome food in ample quantity, regular hours of work and rest, much bathing, etc., all contribute to the physical upbuilding. As a matter of fact, what is commonly termed physical education has comparatively little part, being confined to gymnasium work and military drill, because the workers in the institution feel that the entire round of physical education is a vastly bigger subject than any series of specific exercises, and is largely connected with the wider subjects of nurture, cleanliness, regular physical work, and regular rest to which may be added the efforts that are being made in

¹ Studies made in Chicago confirm this impression. See *Rep. of Com. of Ed.*, 1902: 1118.

some schools in the direction of more free and spontaneous play.

Physical education in these institutions is also connected with the instruction in hygiene and counteracting certain habits of vice which, in many instances, have been contracted. Many devices have been resorted to in order to overcome these vicious tendencies, but in the majority of cases the practice is to rely more on the abundance of physical exercise, work, play, and early hours, etc. Animal energy, thus worked off, and the body being sufficiently fatigued to make rest welcome, the normal attitude of the physical body usually asserts itself.

In the reports of the institutions as conducted in recent years one finds striking evidence that the goal of physical well-being has been largely reached. Deaths are rare, and sickness not common, except where tuberculosis has been contracted before commitment. Of course many of the inmates are diseased at entrance.

In moral education of delinquents we are impressed with the fact that there exists no adequate description of what constitutes moral or social education, and consequently these schools have empirically worked at the problem, with much in the way of good results. Historically, they have tried many experiments, not all of which have borne fruit. And it is still true that they find many of their charges beyond their capacity to reform permanently.

In fact one very large question of moral education in schools of this character is still earnestly debated, and experience is variously consulted for precedents for action. It is in the field of religious education that at present the greatest uncertainty prevails. None of the schools are without some religious teaching. And it would appear that there are none but are staffed with people of more or less religious earnestness, not excepting the state institutions. But it is felt by many that the kind of religious instruction which comes from some preaching and Sunday-school lessons once a week is a very different thing from that which is possible where the schools are in charge of officers whose constant teaching is

permeated with the religious spirit. Of course this is practicable at present only in schools under private control, and receiving only children whose religious education is expected to conform to the lines of some one faith. In New York and Maryland conspicuously, and in some other states in less degree, the work of these schools is largely in the hands of religious or semi-religious bodies, and religious teaching is naturally made a considerable part of the work and spirit of the institution.

In state schools, of course, it is impossible to select the inmates along the lines of any faith; and equally it is impossible that the officers should in any degree express specialized religious attitudes in their contact with their charges. But provision is always made for preaching, religious services, and religious teaching, usually by ministers and others not connected with the school. It is always practicable in this way to minister to the two larger groups, Protestant and Catholic; and frequently also to those of the Hebrew faith.

It seems impossible in the present state of the debate to say which side has the better argument, because there are so many conflicting conditions, and also because the general spirit of religious teaching is changing. Time was when religious teaching, corresponding to the cruder character of men's conceptions, was much more dogmatic and appealed more directly to the instincts of fear and of hope. Religious teaching, under those conditions, was more concrete, and it may have appealed more effectively to the boys and girls of the character here under consideration, than is now possible under changed general conditions.

Outside of the few schools directly under denominational control, it is believed that an analysis of the work will show the following features which might be distinctly enumerated as moral education. In the first place, the institution looks to the creation of a body of habits, and it tends to procure these by leading or inducing if possible, but by force and compulsion if necessary. Among these may be enumerated habits of work, of regularity in matters of daily exercise, in carriage

of body, in order, in obedience, in cleanliness, in truth-telling, in self-control under ordinary provocations, etc. The entire machinery of the school tends in this direction, and there can be no question as to the effectiveness of the results. The school has in the indeterminate sentence, the parole, the use of the merit system, and the like, a machinery for this purpose which cannot be surpassed. The mistake in the older institutions was the assumption that this training, sufficiently carried on, would produce the social or right type of individual. If the habituation could be carried to an extreme degree it might produce permanent results, but, of course, at great loss to the individual in crippling his own power of initiative. It is interesting to note in this connection how in the early history of the movement it was frequently suggested that delinquent boys should be trained for service in the army; and it is of further interest to note in reading the reports that many of their paroled students even now enlist in the army or navy. The military training of many of the schools doubtless suggests this line of action. But other psychological reasons may exist.

The second field in moral education which the schools have developed consists in an appeal to the understanding. Social habits are important for specific situations, but to meet the various complex issues in life it is desirable that to some extent practical life should be understood. That, in the long run, the world tends to give to a man what he deserves, that justice and fair dealing are profitable, even to one's self—in other words, the production of an enlightened self-interest comes as a feature of this work. The schools do not consciously appear to make much of this method, doubtless in the conviction that, unless motive is first established, any appeal to understanding is apt to be futile.

The third field lies in the domain of the feelings, and consists in stimulating the higher sentiments and in pointing the way to their realization. It is here that genuine religious teaching is of the greatest service, for there can be no question but that a thorough-going, sincere and earnest religious edu-

cation does much to foster the higher ideals and to make them motives and well-springs of higher types of action. But it is not alone the religious instincts that may be appealed to in this higher moral education. Along the lines of ambition for personal approval, the contagion of personality, the instincts of fair play and self-interest, is a body of feelings, sentiments, ambitions, which these schools appeal to more or less systematically in their work. For example, in management, it is universally conceded that the officer must be just, if he is to command respect. Severe he may be without loss of prestige, but unjust he cannot be; and it is the claim of those connected with the work that this emphasis on justice awakens gradually in the boys themselves a larger idea of fair play which may be used as the basis for further development. To a certain extent the institutions have been successful in individualizing industry, so that pupils may work along the lines of their preference for future calling and so beget that pleasure and ambition in work which constitutes the difference between the man or woman who works and the man or woman who "is worked." In the indefinable field of moral education constituting the production of ideals we find few guideposts, but we do find that much depends on the personality of those who lead. In a few instances reform schools have been in charge of men or women of such rare power of moral leadership that they have exerted an influence which they themselves could not explain, and which has been widely productive of good. Enough, however, is known of this work to indicate its main outlines. It is certain, for example, that leading counts for far more than driving, well illustrated by the tendency in as early stages as possible, to substitute for coercion and punishment, in control and education, an appeal to higher tendencies. Then again, as a phase of the above it is certain that high personality on the part of teachers and officers counts for much both in the way of unconscious example and in the way of inspiring willingness to follow. In proportion as this factor is recognized will the work of these schools improve.

Again, it is undoubtedly true that such agencies as music,

literature, and games do much to stimulate the development of these ideals. Many also believe that an adjustment of the economic life of the institution can be brought about which will give a great impetus to the formation of moral attitudes and habits of the right kind.

A separate discussion of the topic of moral education will be taken up later. Since vocational or industrial education is the subject which first commands attention, place will now be given to it.

2. VOCATIONS AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF 20 YEARS AGO

Because of the character of the available material it seems desirable to discuss this subject under three heads: the prevalent conditions of twenty years ago together with the ideals then held which are developed by Mr. Letchworth's inquiry of that date; the ideals and practices of today in girls' schools where the problem of industrial education necessarily assumes an individual character; and the ideals and practices in boys' schools.

The information collected by Mr. Letchworth is primarily valuable as showing the attitude towards contract work. It has been hard in many instances for the institutions to dispense with this, owing to their inadequate means of support. But at that time (1883) it is evident that a strong preponderance of opinion existed against it and the managers of the institutions were hopefully anticipating a time when it could be replaced by more educative work. Manual training, however, was not then widely known or understood. Field and garden work were looked upon as being the most promising alternatives. This inquiry was made in 1883, when Mr. Letchworth was a commissioner of the New York State Board of Charities. The statements were received in response to a series of categorical questions sent out by him.¹ The substance of the replies is given here in a somewhat condensed and rearranged form.

Connecticut State Reform School: 380 inmates, averaging

¹ Published in a pamphlet which is now rare.

just over 13 years when received. Work: 120 in sewing rooms, 200 cane-seating chairs, 3 in shoeshop, 50 in laundry, dining-rooms, kitchen, bakery, halls, and on farm. In spring and summer 30 boys are taken from chair-caning for work in garden. 5 hours for work, 3 for school.

Connecticut Industrial School for Girls: 185 inmates, average age $14\frac{1}{4}$ years. Six hours' work per day and 3 hours' school. Work: 22 box-making, 60 dress-making, sewing and fancy-work, 25 laundry, 67 housework, dairy, and miscellaneous.

Illinois State Reform School: 290 boys, average age $14\frac{1}{2}$ years. Six hours' work daily, four hours' school. Work: shoe-making (ladies' shoes on contract) 130; cane-seating, 75; farm and garden, 20; tailoring, 16; laundry, kitchen, bakery, miscellaneous, 49.

Indiana House of Refuge: 400 boys, average age 14. "About one-third work on the farm, the remainder in the various shops. Half the day to work, half to study."

Indiana Reform Schools for Girls: 130 girls, average age 14. Five hours' work daily, three for school. Work: cane-seating, 30; sewing, 20; washing and ironing, 50; and domestic service, 30.

Iowa State Reform School (Boys): 242 boys, average age 13. Four hours to labor, four to school. Work: farming, gardening, stock-raising, shoe-making, hat-making (all for use of institution).

Iowa State Reform School (Girls): 83 inmates, average age 14. The employments are domestic work, supplemented by instruction in the use of the needle.

Kentucky Home of Refuge: 247 inmates, average age 13. Six hours to labor, 4 to school. Work: cane-seating, 100; shoemaking, 10; gardening and farm, 15; housework, 54; and rest at general duties.

Maine State Reform School: 107 boys, average age $14\frac{1}{2}$ years. Six hours' work and four hours' school. Work: farming, gardening, caring for stock, tailoring, baking, laundry, housework, and cane-seating.

Baltimore House of Refuge: 242 boys, average age almost 14. Five hours' labor, four and one-half school. Work: Basket and wicker work, 77; shoe factory, 39; tailor shop, 11; farm, 8; yards, 12; boilers and engine, 3; painting, 2; carpenter work, 2; bake-house, 9; laundry, 7; school-room, halls, and officers' departments, 12; carriage, wagon, and gate, 3; office and hospital 3; dormitories, 7. In junior department, sewing-room, 15; rooms and yards, 4; unemployed, 28.

St. Mary's Industrial School (Maryland): 442 boys, average age 15 (and inmates range from 8 to 21). Six hours' work, three for study. Work: Basket and bottle covering shops (hired by contractor) 194; tailor shop, 34; shoe shop, 26; printing-office, 18; blacksmith and engine-room, 4; farm and garden, 10; bakehouse, laundry, and all other domestic work, 76.

Massachusetts State Reform School: 118 boys, average age $15\frac{1}{2}$ years. Three hours' school, seven or eight at labor. "About half are employed at farm work, the remainder at cane-seating and domestic labor.

State Industrial School, Lancaster, Massachusetts: 72 inmates, average age $15\frac{1}{2}$ years. Occupations: housework, light gardening in summer, sewing, knitting. Three hours daily to study.

Plummer Farm School, Salem: Restricted to 30, average age $13\frac{1}{2}$ years. Six hours' labor, four school. Work: gardening in summer, chair-seating in winter, with some domestic work.

Lawrence (Mass.) Industrial School: Average age 12 years. Four hours for school, four to five for work. Work: farming and seating chairs.

Michigan State Reform School: 375 boys, average age 14 years. Four and three quarter hours per day for school, same for work. Work: "We do a large amount of farming, making our own clothes, caps, shoes, etc., and also chair-seating."

Minnesota Reform School: 134 inmates, including 16 girls. Average age 14 years. Four hours' school, same for labor. Work: tinsmiths, 15; woodwork, 40; printing, 5; seed-growing, 10; remainder at domestic work.

St. Louis House of Refuge: 167 boys, 62 girls; average age 13 years. Seven hours' labor and three hours' school. Work: shoemaking, 90; chairmaking, 50; farming, 4; and the rest at sewing, baking, and domestic work. (The boys engaged in shoemaking are hired to contractors).

New Hampshire State Reform School: 108 inmates, 90 boys, 18 girls, average age 15 years. Four and one-half hours to work, five and one-half to school. Farming and chair-seating are the occupations.

New Jersey State Reform School: 344 boys, average age 13. Three hours are given to school with a five-minute recess, and $6\frac{3}{4}$ hours to work, with two 15-minute intermissions in the shirt-making department. Work: Making shirts, 189; laundrying and ironing same, 42; farming, 24; brickmaking, 26; making and repairing clothing for school, 11; laundry work, bakery, waiting, and other domestic work, 52.

Girls Industrial School, Trenton, N. J.: 34 inmates, average age 14. Six hours to labor, three to school. Needle and domestic work.

Newark City Home, New Jersey: 129 boys, 27 girls. Average age, $12\frac{1}{2}$ years. Five hours per day to work. 60 boys in brush shops in winter, 40 in summer. Farm, 16, house duties, 18. Girls are instructed in sewing and cutting clothing, and in housekeeping. Small and backward children go to school six hours per day, others 3 hours.

House of Refuge (Randall's Island, N. Y.): 694 boys, 117 girls. Average age of boys, 12 to 15; girls, $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 15. For study, four hours in winter, three and a half in summer. For work, first division, seven in winter, seven and a half in summer; second division, seven hours in winter, eight in summer. Work: making stockings, 552 (boys hired to contractor); ravelling stockings, 100 little boys, also under contract; girls do housework for their department and washing and mending for boys.

Western House of Refuge, Rochester, N. Y.: 461 boys, 105 girls. Average age 12 years. Three hours school and seven hours the limit of contract work. Work: making

clothing, 154; making shoes, 140 (both occupations under contract system); seating and flagging chairs, 100 (of smaller boys); remainder do miscellaneous work, as farming, and domestic work. Girls knit hosiery by machinery, make and mend their own clothing; also make skirts, pillow-cases, towels, and stockings.

New York Juvenile Asylum: 623 boys, 160 girls. Average age, 12 years. Children under ten have five hours' schooling each day, and no labor; over ten, 3 hours' school, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours' work. Employment: shoemaking, 17; tailoring, 95; needlework, 80; farming, 12; and housework, etc. 100.

New York Catholic Protectory: 1205 boys, 648 girls; 127 little boys. Average age, about 11 years. Children over regular school age receive two and one-half hours' tuition each day; and others, five hours. Hours of labor, none for little boys; from four and one-half to five and one-half for others. Industries: shoemaking, 250; printing, 58; caning chairs, 100; stocking factory, junior, 250; senior, 250; shoe-repairing, 28. Girls industries: glove-sewing, 68; sewing by hand and machine at shirt and dress work, 300. The girls do all the housework of the female department.

Ohio Reform School: 471 boys. Half the day to work, half to school. Work: brush shop, 115 boys each half-day; rest at blacksmithing, baking, tailoring, shoemaking, farming, gardening, flower culture and domestic duties.

House of Refuge, Toledo, O.: 192 boys, average age $13\frac{1}{4}$. Three hours daily to work, same to study. Work: sock-knitting, gardening, making their own clothing, etc. They are changed from one industry to another every six weeks.

House of Refuge, Cincinnati: 314 inmates. Seven hours to labor, 3 to school. Industries: shoemaking, tailoring, gardening, engineering, baking, cooking, washing, sewing, etc.

House of Refuge, Philadelphia: 467 boys, 148 girls. Average age of boys, 12; of girls nearly 13. Three hours' school; seven hours labor in summer, six in winter. Work: brush-making, 275; cane-seating, 46; tailoring, 21; shoemaking, 6; boiler room, 4; wicker work, 33; hosiery shop, 61; sewing

(girls, 55; housewifery, 52; domestic work, boys, 21; remainder, odd jobs, etc. Seven are too small for employment. (The larger trades above are let out to contractors).

Pennsylvania Reform School, Morganza: 245 boys, 61 girls, average age $13\frac{3}{4}$ years. Four hours to school, $6\frac{3}{4}$ to labor. Work: carpet and light saddlery and harness goods (on contract); and at agriculture and domestic work.

Rhode Island Reform School: 160 boys, average age 15. Four and a half hours each day to labor, and same to school. Work: chairmaking, 130; tailoring, 10; housework, 20.

Vermont Reform School: 71 boys, 18 girls; average age 13. School, four hours, work four or five according to age. Work: caning chairs, farming, gardening, making shoes and clothing, and domestic work.

Wisconsin Industrial School: 300 boys, average age 14. Work: boot and shoe factory, 100; sock and mitten factory, 120; miscellaneous work, remainder.

Industrial School for Girls in Milwaukee, 110 girls, 3 to 18 years; and 30 boys under ten. Younger children are in school six hours daily, all others four hours. Work: housework and domestic sewing; custom laundry work, custom sewing, knitting, crocheting, cutting and fitting of plain garments. Many "fancy articles" are manufactured. Older girls taught to manage sewing-machines.

The inquiry made by Mr. Letchworth brought out an interesting consensus of the ideals of the managers of these homes on the matter of industrial work and education. In 1883 the manual-training idea had not found expression to any marked extent in American education, for it is commonly assumed that the early forms of manual training arose from the Centennial Exposition in 1876. But a few quotations will show that the thought that all industrial work in reform schools must have an educational aspect, in fact must have the educational as its chief end, was beginning to be felt. Supt. Howe of the Connecticut Boys' School, with over twenty years' experience behind him said: "In regard to the employment of children in an institution

similar to my own, I would say were it in my power to do so, I should have them all engage in agriculture, horticulture, and floriculture, in some form or other. Labor in the gardens, in the greenhouse, upon the lawns, the culture of small fruits, the care of stock and poultry, all conduce to health and happiness, and are much better than shop labor for reformatory purposes. That kind of shop labor which introduces machinery is best calculated to please the boy. Our sewing-machines are run by steam power. The boys seek this labor through their liking for machinery."

Supt. Bond of the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls thinks that "it is desirable to employ girls and boys in institutions at industries that will fit them for honorable self-support when they leave. Girls should be instructed in the art of housekeeping in all its branches, dressmaking, plain and fancy needlework, and laundry work. Paper-box making is a good trade for girls, but we do not encourage girls to go into shops or factories. I believe in practical trades for boys, even if their labor amounts to little in the way of self-support in the institution."

The following expression is from Supt. Scouller of the Illinois State Reform School: "We have never found any employment fitted for children under twelve, either in or out of reform schools. Their work should be in school and on the playground, with ten hours in bed out of every twenty-four. After that age, first work them on a farm or garden. If such is found to be impossible, then at cane-seating, book-binding, card-printing, sock-knitting, light sewing; many other industries might be mentioned. I do not think there is anything boys or girls under the age of twelve can work at in an institution like ours, that will be of any benefit to them as a trade when discharged. Boys over twelve can be worked at light shoemaking, to better advantage than at any other occupation we know of."

Supt. Miles of the Iowa State Reform School is "of the opinion that each child capable of learning a trade should be required to do so, but it costs money to teach boys and

girls trades and public opinion will not tolerate any enterprise, in an institution of this kind, that will not be a revenue to the institution. Our farm of 500 acres is a revenue, and many boys are fitted for farm-hands on it and go out and do well in that capacity. Our tailor shop, shoe shop, broom shop, and straw-hat shop are satisfactory in results as far as they go, but we need more trades."

Mrs. Lewelling, the Superintendent of the Iowa Girls School says: "All our work is done by hand, with a view to better qualification for domestic service. Our younger inmates spend a good deal of time in making block quilts, and such like work; in fact, anything to keep them employed. . . If we can make of them plain, plodding people, such as are well qualified for domestic labor, we shall feel that much has been accomplished. At present we look to that end chiefly."

Supt. Farrington of the Maine State Reform School writes: "My own opinion in reference to the employment of boys in reform schools, is that during the hours of labor they should be kept steadily employed at some work which will teach them a trade, whereby they may earn their own living after discharge. The work should be of such a nature, that the boys would become interested in it, and seeing it to be for their own great advantage, would strive to excel in working rapidly and well. They should in some way participate in the profits of their own labor. There would be no pecuniary profits in an employment managed in this way, except what would come from making good citizens out of bad boys; but inmates would be sent out into the world, capable of earning a good living, and imbued with the idea that labor is a blessing and not a curse. The idea of an institution earning a money profit from their labor must be abandoned. The schooling given the boys should be in the line of trade-teaching, and should include freehand and mechanical drawing and bookkeeping. The State of Maine has recently appropriated \$5000 for the establishment and maintenance of manual instruction in this school. It has not been decided how that money shall be spent, or just what the instruction shall be."

From Supt. Kirkwood of the Baltimore House of Refuge: "As our object is to train boys for future usefulness, we should try to instruct them so that they may be able to secure positions in business that will render comfortable support. We have been trying to introduce other industries, so as to afford as much opportunity as possible for our pupils to learn a business for which they are naturally qualified."

St. Mary's Industrial School, Maryland, reporting through its Superintendent, Brother Alexius, says: "Institutions of this kind cannot well compete with outside skilled labor, for the simple reason that children seldom remain long enough in such establishments to learn a trade thoroughly, hence only an ordinary article can be expected from them, for which the house would not easily find a profitable and ready market. The most remunerative work done by such children, are simple and light occupations contracted for, by which habits of industry are instilled, as basket-making, caning chairs, knitting, etc. A child that has been engaged at these inferior works should, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, be transferred to a proper trade, carried on in the establishment. When a boy so employed has obtained a practical insight of the profession, he should be sent to a proper master outside the institution where he could learn his trade thoroughly, remaining, however, always subject to be recalled by the authorities of the reformatory until he is of age, in case he should fail to observe his duties. Children of such institutions should be encouraged by a certain percentage of the profits derived from their labor, and deposited in a savings-bank, to which they may lay claim when they come of age." It will be recalled that St. Mary's has established a branch called St. James' Home¹ in which indentured boys may live, paying for the cost of their support.

"Work upon the land," thinks Supt. Allen of the Massachusetts State Reform School for Boys, "is the best employment. On stormy days and in winter, the best work we ever

¹ See p. 75.

had is cane-seating chairs." And in similar vein writes Supt. Brown of the Girls School of the same state: "In this school we aim to keep the children busy during work hours, knitting by hand, sewing,—that is, making their own garments, also at housework, by this we mean training them to be good bread-makers, and as efficient as possible in the laundry. The girls in summer, under supervision, work out of doors planting and weeding in the garden, picking strawberries, peas, beans, etc. They also gather apples and perform much light work. . . . One of our restrictions, when some work was let on limited contract for machine knitting was that no girl should work more than three consecutive months in the shop." Another interesting school in Massachusetts, the Plummer Farm School, had its thirty boys work at gardening in the summer and chair-seating in the winter, with some domestic work, which are, in the estimation of Supt. Johnson, the "best employments when near a good market for vegetables and small fruits."

From the Minnesota State Reform School Supt. Riheldoffer writes: "We have always conducted our school with sole reference to the reformation of the inmates; preparing them, by education, and the knowledge of some branch of skilled labor, for self-support and citizenship. We do not approve of contracting their labor and have never done so. When even *boys* get the idea that the state is using them to make money, without reference to their interest, it begets discontent and want of confidence in the charitable intentions of their overseers. Some have avoided all labor that does not afford an opportunity of learning some manly employment. Many of our boys go out skilled mechanics, at once demanding good wages, I have no hesitation in commending our method, in this regard, as the best in use. If our shop only pays expenses we are satisfied." This school had 15 boys employed as tinsmiths, 430 at wood-work, 5 at printing, 10 at seed growing; and rest at domestic work.

In the New Jersey State Reform School, at this date, extensive contract work was being done, but under direct control

of the school. The school takes and controls the contract. Supt. Eastman desires "that every boy must be brought to feel not only that the industries, but that the whole institution, is merely a means in the Superintendent's hands, to be used by him, or under his direction, for the reformation of the boy's individual character. . . . Now what of this shirt manufacturing itself (the work taken on contract most extensively) as an education to the boys? I like it for a class. It is clean work and must be critically done, and they can turn their knowledge in it to good account when they leave us. The laundryman and ironer get good wages. But we have too many boys employed in that one department, and the laundry business does not obtain in every part of the state. I would multiply industries without increasing our pay-roll too much. We have an excellent carpenter and blacksmith. Had we a suitable building, a class of boys could be profitably employed, making and ironing wagons, etc. They would meet with ready sale. We could at once open a printing department, teaching the boys to set type for our local newspaper. In our shoe-shop, if it were large enough, a class could be taught the use of wax end and awl, in making horse halters, lead and tie straps, etc. Since saddlery, harness, and trunk making are extensive trades industries in most of our large cities, I could doubtless get work for them to do on as favorable terms as shirt-making. I would have a tin-shop. With no very great outlay at our brick yard we could start a pottery . . . Our labor is not sold by the day, but rewarded by the dozen or the piece at living prices. The foregoing new industries I would conduct in the same guarded manner."

The Newark City Home had at this time children whose age averaged $12\frac{1}{2}$ years. Says Supt. Harrison: First, and above all else, I think duties pertaining to the farm are best adapted to us in the care and culture of our wards. If I could so arrange it, I would provide labor for all in the fields during the spring, summer and autumn. The winter months should be employed in teaching skill in manipulation. Any branch of light labor, which affords a chance for advancement in skill,

neatness, and dispatch answers the purpose of reformatory teaching. We use the brush industry and compel painstaking. (Five hours a day are devoted to the several employments). Our object is teaching, not profit. Habituation is one of our aims. . . . We must cultivate pride of person, self-reliance, rouse the moral faculties to activity, cultivate every sense—all which are sometimes lost sight of, in the practice of those industries in which competition is fierce."

Supt. Carpenter of the New York Juvenile Asylum writes: "In an institution like this, I think all children of suitable age to work, can be most profitably employed in making the clothing including the shoes of the children, mending the same, doing the house work, etc. That is most profitable to the children themselves and probably quite as profitable to the institution." He objects to the contract system because "it is antagonistic to the reformation of the boys."

The following is the opinion of the Managers of the Catholic Protectory of New York: "We consider that the most desirable method of employing children in institutions similar to that under our charge is by some trade or occupation by which they will be able to support themselves after leaving the institution. Where that is impossible on account of the uncertainty of the time when they will leave the institution, it is desirable that they should be engaged at some occupation which would accustom them to labor and teach them habits of industry. These should not be of such a nature, however, as to interfere with their physical or mental, growth or development; and for that reason the system of hiring out their labor by the day to contractors has never been permitted by the Protectory. The limiting of the hours of labor would rather aggravate, than remedy, the evil, by causing contractors to exact a greater amount of work from the children."

Supt. Douglass, of the Ohio Reform School says: The juveniles "should be taught some trade, whereby they can earn a living when away from the institution." Supt. MacDonald of the Toledo House of Refuge finds that "as a rule, boys committed to Reform Schools are from a low

order of parentage. I never knew a case where a boy was committed who had been a regular attendant at the public schools. They will not readily make skilled tradesmen."

Supt. Laverty of the Philadelphia House of Refuge thinks that the contract system under certain restrictions "is the best for the class of children that we have in the House of Refuge. The great object is to teach them habits of industry, as an important auxiliary to their moral and mental training."

Supt. Fairbanks, of the Vermont Reform School writes: "As to the time of work, I would grade it according to the age and strength of the child. The work should be, if possible, practical and remunerative. By practical, I mean such as will fit them to earn a livelihood when they leave school. We work most of the boys in the shop at caning chairs. This work educates them in the habit of industry, teaches them to apply themselves to the work in hand. So far, so good, but it would be far better, especially for the older boys, if the work was such as they could engage in with profit when leaving the school. For this reason we propose entering more largely into gardening, that more boys may be employed thereat. I have also urged for some time the making of the frames we cane, since they could be made with profit and little outlay for machinery. The larger boys with a turn for mechanics, could make the frames, thus gaining a knowledge of the machinery, etc., by which they could be fitted to enter most of the wood-working shops in the country. . . . I think little of an industry that simply employs—teaching merely application and industry—and does not educate for practical life. . . . The locality of the school will have much to do with determining the kind of employment and the means available for such ends may have still more influence."

The Girls Industrial School of Wisconsin at this date taught the girls mostly domestic work, but did extensive custom laundry and sewing of many varieties. Mrs. Cobb, the Superintendent writes: (The various varieties of domestic work) "are taught by instructors as well educated and as well

paid as the literary teachers, and the classes are changed quarterly, so that within two years all girls above twelve years old may learn all the parts of housekeeping and needlework well. We use the best text-books on household economy, and require intelligent training, not only in cookery, but in domestic science, care of the sick, etc. Our custom work comes from the best families and is required to be done with the utmost nicety. . . . Having learned as much as we can teach them our girls can, if they must, afterwards turn to the manufacture of cheap clothing on sewing machines in shops, or to the large laundries; but the chances are against such a necessity in their future, as they will be fitted for higher work."

3. PRESENT DAY INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS

The problem of industrial education as it confronts the Girls' School is simplified by the fact that much of the institutional work—cooking, sewing, domestic work of all sorts—is of a kind which the girls are most apt to follow on leaving the school; and it is further simplified in that that any and all of the staff can easily be more or less expert in domestic work. On the other hand it is made difficult by the fact that in a large institution much of the domestic work must assume a wholesale character which is not productive of either personal interest or the artistic excellence which is desirable in home-keeping. A more fundamental difficulty is that the home training and parental oversight of the girls usually committed to these institutions has been so slight or of such an injudicious character as to result in a more or less complete absence of habits and interests in domestic work. In most cases the industrial training of the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old girl must be begun at the lowest point of the scale and be gradually built up.

The testimony of most of the Girls' Schools is that their inmates are peculiarly susceptible to personal influences, and therefore much of the success of the educational work depends upon the tact, sympathy, and strong motherly qualities of the women of the staff. Under one type of housemother

the girls may work rebelliously, perfunctorily, and with growing distaste for their employments. Under another, with a different personality, they may learn to work with earnestness and pleasure, and with a growing disposition to find in their daily tasks inspiration for a subsequent career of wholesome industry. Trained teachers for work of this character are usually unobtainable; and the best results seem to be reached by the selection of women who possess in large measure a combination of tact, sympathy, and firmness, such as one would find in a woman of good common sense and a wide knowledge of human nature.

Few of the girls' schools seem to have been obliged to utilize the labor of the inmates unduly in the direction of contributing to self-support. In all of the schools the teaching of dressmaking and some allied occupations has given the opportunity so much desired in the Boys' Schools—of providing work which should be educative and which would at the same time provide a source of individual interest and enjoyment of the product. It will be realized that very little opportunity is afforded in boys' schools to have children do things whose fruits are theirs to enjoy; while the girl who in the course of her education makes for herself an article of apparel is provided with a strong personal motive for interest and individual effort. Very much, however, of the domestic work of girls in institutions must lack this individual character; and here again, as in the case of the teacher's personal qualities, a slight difference of adjustment may produce a wide difference in the educational outcome. In some cases the work is so carried on that many girls come to dislike it and to resolve to do anything but domestic work on leaving; in others, the girls learn to take a positive interest and to develop skill in the work with a conscious view to its application.

Nearly all girls in Juvenile Reform Schools must expect to be self-supporting when paroled or discharged. Ultimately, of course, many of them become housewives; but there is a considerable intervening period for which the educative work

of the institution must provide the basis of support. In respect to available trades which may be taught in such schools there is frequent complaint of their scarcity. Apart from domestic occupations, there are few callings for which girls can be specifically prepared. The teaching profession is out of the question for these girls. An occasional institution has made some sporadic efforts at typewriting and stenography, but apparently with no great results. In the manufacturing states many girls go to factories, but for this work the school can give little but the most general preparation. Many of the girls of the Oak Lawn School in Rhode Island declare their intention of going into factories rather than into housework, because in the former they can have holidays, Sundays, and evenings free—reasons which seem to animate many other girls than those in reform schools.¹

A considerable variety of garden work, floriculture, and fancy domestic work, besides music have been developed in many girls schools; but these find their justification in their contributions in a general way to taste and refinement and physical development rather in opening the way to vocation. Many of the schools find in fancy-work, millinery, bead-work, and music their best aids in discipline.

Unfortunately for a complete discussion of this subject there is not obtainable material for an exact statement of the work usually attempted or accomplished in Juvenile Reform Schools for Girls. We can only say that, as a rule, the girls are divided up according to the arrangement of the institution, their own ages and capacities, and the needs in various divisions of work. Where feasible girls are given opportunities or are required to practice at various forms of employment, but seldom are records kept of numbers in any one kind of work. Some condensed accounts, taken from the reports of various typical schools, will furnish the most available review of the contemporary ideals and methods of these institutions.

The Chicago Refuge for Girls has department training in

¹ *Rep. Rhode Island Board of Control, 1904: 44.*

"sewing, cooking, embroidering, laundry work, and all general housework, giving every member of the family an opportunity to prove her efficiency and worth in each branch. The latest achievement in our industrial department has been the making of baskets of all sizes from the large, firm baskets, to the tiniest sewing baskets. And, too, the girls have added to their crafts the useful and clever art of caning chairs." The Industrial Teacher reports an income of \$710.25 in her department on work sold, the average number of inmates being 124. It is noted that the girls do a large share of the caning of chairs, painting of furniture, etc., for the institution. A well-equipped cooking school has been in operation in this school for eleven years, with a special teacher of the subject. "Every girl is required to spend two hours a week under this teacher's instruction."¹

In addition to the customary lines of domestic work, the girls of the New Jersey State Home "have done considerable outdoor work, caring for the lawns, and assisting the men, who are thoroughly trustworthy, on the farm collecting the vegetables and fruits." The superintendent "hopes that by the next year they may have entire charge of the chickens." Part of each evening is taken up by fancy work which is regarded as a useful adjunct to discipline.

An extensive line of kitchen and sewing products is noted in the Report of The Missouri State Industrial School for Girls. "Could people step into our families any morning hour and see the children busily and happily cooking, setting tables, cleaning rooms or sewing they would not think it different from any well-ordered home, except for the numbers. . . . But this steady training and busy, happy life tells in the well-equipped girl who goes into the active world a useful woman with a desire for good living and clean surroundings. Every girl is obliged to take training in all branches of domestic work and be a good housekeeper when she leaves."

Of the few girls' schools which try to contribute to their own support we have an example in the Baltimore City Indus-

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

trial School for Colored Girls which with an average attendance of over 80 reports an income from "Sewing Room" of \$1,537. And this amount of work "owing to the high price and therefore the scarcity, of cotton (for the Contract Room) has been far below the average." "Our sewing-room plant is fully equipped with modern machines and adequate power . . . and in the very near future we shall have an up-to-date laundry; our kitchens are models with steel ranges and all necessary culinary appliances." "A great deal of patient teaching is required in the contract room, as each year the competition grows greater and the manufacturers more exacting." But as a purely educative measure the Superintendent hopes to establish individual gardens for the girls.¹

Girls come to the Maine Industrial School "from homes where the comforts of life are few. The beauty, usefulness, and possibilities of life are new to them and it is interesting to watch their development along their new lines. With a few exceptions the girls take a great interest in their work and books, and a marked improvement is soon noticed. The girls are the assistant cooks, housemaids, laundresses, and dress-makers in a large family where the purpose of all is to learn habits of industry and those things which fit one for useful life. No small importance is attached to giving the girls a pride in their surroundings and in making them neat and thorough in their work. The girls make flower gardens in the spring and care for them through the summer, watering them daily and gathering the flowers to decorate the dining-room and other parts of the house."

Sewing and dressmaking are specially directed pursuits in the Connecticut Girls School and also in the Oak Lawn School in Rhode Island. In the latter "all new girls begin in the sewing-room and others come in if discharged for incompetency or misconduct in other places. (But) from this department girls are drafted off to fill vacancies all about the house; as a consequence of which only the smaller girls stay the four months' term designed for instruction in this branch."

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

This school has lately introduced raffia work and basket making, under charge of a special teacher, ten girls getting instruction for one and a half hours per week. Five girls at a time learn cooking, doing this work for both inmates and teachers. Nine girls are detailed to the laundry work and changed every four months. It is asserted of the laundry work that it does not seem particularly inviting to the girls.

Some of the schools find that the routine work of cooking for the institution does not furnish enough in the way of education for the girls who look forward to employment in domestic work. The Indiana school notes the establishment of a model kitchen built by a special appropriation of \$700 from the legislature "accommodating ten girls (at a time). The class is in the hands of a trained teacher; all class work is done under direct supervision and the girls have the actual experience of cooking and serving the article of food on which the lesson is given." The work is declared to be thoroughly practical, and to find application in the culinary department of the institution. The Ohio Home and that of Wisconsin also notes especial attention to domestic science. In Michigan "since my last report 140 girls have taken the course of instruction in cooking, 61 of whom graduated with honors. Our examinations are rigid, and a girl *must* be a good cook before she can graduate. The object of our cooking school is to teach our girls a better and simpler way of living. It is to relieve women of the monotony of the kitchen and to plead for pure, wholesome food devoid of grease and digestible. Another object is to teach the proper combinations of food, more artistic table arrangement, to know how to make the kitchen attractive, rather than to destroy love for the work."¹

In contrast to the domestic work with its practical character reference should again be made to the increasing interest in out-of-door work. Michigan reports a greenhouse directed by a special instructor. "This branch of industry has proved a blessing to the institution in many ways. All plants for the farm and garden as well as for bedding have been grown here

¹ *Rep.* 1904: 18.

and transplanted by the girls. We have as a consequence been furnished with an abundance of vegetables fresh from the garden. The flower beds have brought love and happiness to all hearts and cheered many a poor sin-sick girl, and by their silent messages have awakened new aspirations in her life."¹ The Iowa Home reports that many girls are employed in summer on the lawns with the flower beds, in gathering vegetables, and in garden work generally. "This gives them a light and very healthful exercise, besides plenty of fresh air and sunshine. This works wonders in each case where the physically weak, nervous and debilitated girl comes to us."² In the Massachusetts School the long two months' vacation from studies is passed largely in outdoor work. Lawn-mowing, weeding, and gathering vegetables serve to fill the hours of the girls "that may not be left idle." It may be noted in passing that this school also requires sloyd and gymnastics for all the girls.³ These industrial features, however, cannot yet be said to be typical; many of the girls' schools still retain some features such as constricted quarters, a more or less repressive discipline, and belief in the potency of hard labor which prevent any developments of the outdoor type of work.

Typewriting is reported as one of the subjects taught in the Girls House of Refuge, Philadelphia. In the Iowa Home "a recent addition has been made by the Board in the rental of four typewriting machines for the purpose of giving those who have talent and desire, a thorough business course in connection with their higher school studies, comprising book-keeping, typewriting, and stenography. Already we have met with good success with the two machines we have had in the institution. We think this can be done even better than in the average business college because of the healthy conditions and environment conducive to good study and work."⁴ In

¹ Similar reports have been given by the Colorado School for Girls and the Indiana Girls' Industrial School.

² *Iowa Board of Control, Rep. 1903: 718.*

³ *Am. Rep. 1906: 15.*

⁴ *Iowa Board, Rep. 1903: 720.*

the Wisconsin Home a "new industry has been introduced in the shape of carpet and rug weaving, and a loom has been placed in our new building." In that home, also, "the arts and crafts are practiced in the making of baskets, lace-work, bead-work, and many varieties of fancy-work, which, besides teaching the girls to be skillful, has yielded an income of over \$500 in the last two years.¹ In the Michigan Home "the craze for fancy-work has not abated and, besides Mexican drawn-work, lace-work, embroidery, and crocheting, we have begun the making of 'Abnakee' rugs and Indian basketry."^{2 3}

But, from the standpoint of vocation, the superintendents seem to agree with the report of the Massachusetts School⁴ that housework is the one kind of labor for which there is always a demand and in which a girl is comparatively shielded from temptation. But it seems hard to develop an abiding interest in it and some of the schools are studying possibilities in other directions. In the Massachusetts home, because "most young women prefer other kinds of work to housework it is attempted to start them at something else before they pass out of the care of the school."

This fragmentary sketch can only give an impression of the work actually being done in the field of the industrial education of girls in juvenile reform schools. It is probable that the schools most frequently referred to are doing, on the whole, the best work in this direction, partly because they have more abundant support from the state or from philanthropy; and partly because they represent a more alert attitude on the part of their officers in keeping "up with the times." But the work will vary greatly in qualities which admit of no categorical analysis. Some of the homes are given over to the bugbear of cleanliness and the inmates are kept everlastingly scrubbing on the much overworked floors and furniture. This has had its justification in a now obsolete pedagogy which held to the notion that "cleanliness," "thoroughness," and other

¹ *Rep.* 1904: 13.

² *Rep.* 1904: 17.

³ In the Indiana Girls' Home and the New Jersey State Home for Girls inside painting and frescoing have been successfully done by girls.

⁴ *Rep.* 1906: 17.

matters of habit and mental attitude could be produced in the individual by a sufficient prolongation of specific exercises. As we shall have occasion to note again when discussing the industrial training of boys, there is a subtle difference between work which educates and that which, done perfunctorily, may produce habits and a certain skill, but with accompanying distaste and mental determination not to follow it up when once the school is left behind. Booker T. Washington has popularized a distinction here which may be very near the psychological truth: "Under slavery, the black man was worked; under the educative conditions of Tuskegee he works." Apparently the girl who "is worked" in an institution does not promise well for the future, while the girl who "works" and who is therefore receiving true industrial education will, ere long, lead an independent and worthy life.

It is of interest to note, too, that the schools for girls encounter the same social difficulties as develop outside in the transitional matters of our economic life. Bread-making and laundry work, for example, are arts and capable of extended teaching did the conditions which formerly prevailed still survive. But these arts have largely come under the sway of manufacture and division of labor and have become the occupations of men aided by machinery. Many of the girls, on leaving the schools, will go into factory work; but so specialized is this that the school can give only the most general preparation for it, preparation, indeed, which hardly causes the girl to believe that she is receiving any vocational education. Again, domestic work in these institutions is subject in considerable measure to the unpopularity which afflicts it among young women not in the schools; and this, even when it is taught most successfully.¹

From the foregoing sketch it is evident that, however far from realizing their own ideals the institutions may be, the best of them have fairly definite goals towards which they are

¹ See paper by Fannie F. Morse (Supt. Mass. Girls' Industrial School) in *Proc. Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor.*, 1904: 306.

working. Among these may be enumerated: (a) The industrial work of the schools should not primarily be organized to bring money into the school. A few schools report small incomes of a few hundred dollars from custom sewing, cane-seating, custom laundrying, and from the sale of crochet and various kinds of fancy-work; but the amount so realized is only a small fraction of the necessary expense of the institution. (b) On the other hand, a large part of the necessary work of the institution is done by the inmates, this ranging from wall painting and papering and the repair of furniture to cooking, sewing, and housekeeping generally. As already indicated the range of educational possibilities in domestic work is very great according to the type of institution and director of the work. But there is discernible a strong tendency to individualize the work, to remove from it the uneducative features of "gang labor" and in other ways to render it attractive to the girls. And when the girls are paroled to service, increasing efforts are being made to locate them where mistresses will evoke the girl's interest in work rather than make of her a domestic drudge. (c) With the building of schools in the country, the disappearance of prison walls, and more advanced notions of wholesome life, an increasing premium is being put on gardenwork, the cultivation of flowers, vegetables and fruits, and on sloyd and other forms of manual-training. The vocational value of this work may not be apparent, but, in the minds of the directors of the education of these girls, its sedative and moralizing influence is ample justification for the time and expense required. The schools fully realize that they have not yet solved the problem of industrial education so far as girls are concerned; but educators know that juvenile reform schools for girls are by no means the only schools that find themselves facing very great difficulties in this direction.¹

¹ For further discussion, see Folks, *Char.*, 12: 624; (Mrs.) Sickles, *N. C. C.*, 1897: 127; Fairbank, *N. C. C.*, 1901: 258.

4. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF BOYS

Remembering that schools for juvenile offenders were at first regarded merely as prisons in which the children could be segregated from the more hardened offenders, we can easily understand at least one of the motives which developed the early systems of labor in these schools. The child as an offender against the social order should be made to pay back as far as possible to the state the expense of keeping him in confinement. There were, of course, other reasons. Where philanthropy established these schools an enormous work was found which had to be done and the means wherewith to do it were scanty.¹ Recourse was naturally had to work which could be done by children without obvious injury and which would contribute to the necessary support of the institution. Where carefully managed, this work, while frequently not educative in the sense that was urged, was, nevertheless, not injurious and it seems highly probable that at no time did the children, except in individual schools where abuses had entered, suffer in development and character as much as do to-day the thousands employed in glass factories, textile mills and coal mines.

But in the early seventies the pressure of a different ideal was felt by the schools and thenceforward a new development is distinctly traceable in the boys' schools. This was, at first, in the direction of teaching trades which would be of considerable profit to the inmate, morally and vocationally, on his leaving the school. It had to be confessed that the industries which had proven feasible and financially profitable in the institutions were not such as to lead to industrial efficiency outside. Contract sewing and tailoring, cigar-making, brush-making, glove-making, knitting, shirt-making and cane-seating of chairs were factory industries which did not lead to economic independence, nor were they educative.

Under varying conditions, then, the schools began to look for lines of work which could be carried on within the institu-

¹ Hoguet, *Industrial Training in the New York Protectory*, N. C. C. C., 1888: 219.

tion, which would meet the educational ideal of efficiency, and which would be, at least, as inexpensive as possible; for it did not take long to discover that there are many trades which require for their teaching an elaborate equipment.¹ Naturally, attempts were made to utilize the plant and necessities of the institution itself as educational opportunities; and as the schools have, one by one, been removed or founded in large farm spaces in the country, this has been increasingly possible. Apart from the purely domestic industries of the institutions, which will be discussed later, there gradually grew up a variety of occupations connected with farming and gardening and the care of stock. The buildings provided opportunities for carpentering, blacksmithing, plumbing, painting, masonry, tinning, brickmaking, furniture making, and a variety of repairing, all of which might, under competent direction, provide educative work for a few boys, while contributing, indirectly, to the reduction of the expenses of the institution. Where circumstances permitted it was found that telegraphy, shorthand, and printing were trades which could be successfully dealt with by institutions. It has also been found that band music provides a line of work which combines the various desirable qualities of contributing to the morale of the institution, of producing distinct educative results, and of providing a possible occupation for the paroled or discharged boy. Leather work, basketry, Venetian iron-work, and floriculture in greenhouses are the other trades which have been developed, in occasional institutions.

Finally, came the manual-training movement. Financially, this form of industrial training has severely taxed the schools, for it is highly expensive in plant, material, and instructing force, while its return in the way of saleable product is practically nothing. The justification of manual training, however, is that it possesses a more highly educative value along all industrial lines than does any other vocational work which can be given to children. Giving special skill in no trade, it is supposed to give the pupil training and concrete experience

¹ Gower, *N. C. C. C.*, 1888: 229.

with the materials and manipulations which lie, in greater or less degree, at the bottom of all trades. It is believed to stand to industrial education in somewhat the same relationship that arithmetic does to the varieties of business practice, or reading to the study of the arts and sciences which come to us in books. Many of the schools have taken up the manual-training movement vigorously and, under the sloyd or some other system, have organized regular courses.

As we find the schools at the present time, it is possible to study the work done in them in the way of industrial education under four main divisions. There is, first, the work which is retained largely for productive purposes. The Connecticut School for Boys has six shops in which the cane-seating of chairs is the special work; in the New Jersey State home, brush-making is carried on, though in diminishing amount; the Baltimore House of Refuge, and St. Mary's Industrial School of Baltimore do extensive work in custom tailoring; St. Mary's also has brush-making shops which employ 123 boys; the House of Reformation for Colored Boys of Maryland has a cane-seating shop which employs 83 boys; the Louisville Industrial School does extensive cane-seating; and harness-making is done in the Boys Industrial School of Kansas.

In the second place, a large number of boys are kept constantly employed, in all the institutions, in various forms of domestic work which range from the unskilled labor of sweeping and weeding to the more difficult callings of table-serving and baking. Under this head also belongs much of the farm work done by the institutions. Frequently the least skilled and least promising boys are assigned to work of this character, partly because discipline and oversight are more practicable. It is not too much to say that from one-third to one-half the boys in most of the schools follow this general work, usually for half of each day.

Shoemaking, tailoring, mending, gardening, working with stock, teaming, carpentry work and blacksmithing, tinning, and a number of other occupations constitute a third group of

industries; these are remunerative to the institution, though only in reducing running expenses, and it is possible to give an interest and degree of proficiency which will lead the boy to follow one of them permanently. Usually some boy with natural talent is selected for this work, and one who has proven himself trustworthy. Limited as many of the schools are in opportunities for these trades, and in teaching force, only a small number of boys can follow them; but in the better schools these boys seem to follow them with much profit and likelihood of finding therein a permanent career.

In the fourth group of occupations we find those which are not in any way to be regarded as remunerative, although in individual cases, as printing, they may occasionally prove so, but are maintained primarily for their educative value. Outside of sloyd and printing, these are few and poorly developed; in fact, as in other fields of education, there is at present considerable doubt as to where such subjects may be found, and how they may be handled when found. The mechanic arts work of the Rhode Island Boys School is said to take the place, very successfully, of a period of apprenticeship for those who enter machine-shop work which is, of course, an ever-present employment in that state.

Now, of course, the four lines of work outlined above vary much in their educational possibilities; but it cannot be assumed that any of them is without great service in industrial education. It seems to be a fact that many of the boys who enter juvenile reform schools are incapable of learning what might strictly be called a trade. They lack the intelligence, the application, and possibly the physical development. And it is of course equally true that very many of them, when received, have had little or no habituation to work of any kind. In fact, owing usually to the neglected and vagrant lives they have led, they are usually prejudiced and habituated strongly against steady employment of all sorts. Some of these boys seem to be so constituted that they will work only under constant external pressure; others seem to be devoid of initiative and can only accomplish results in the field of wholly

routine labor. Many seem permanently destined to fill the ranks of unskilled labor whose only capital is muscular strength.

Owing to the varied and sometimes indefinite character of the records kept and published by many schools it has not been feasible to present in statistical form a survey of the industrial work actually carried on. It may indeed be doubted whether it is possible to preserve such records in a way that will make them very serviceable, in all schools, for there must be frequent shifting and rearrangement of the inmates according to the necessities and opportunities of the work. Farm and garden work, for example, must vary in its demands, with the season. Domestic work is fairly constant in quantity but it is desirable for many reasons that boys be frequently shifted about from one phase to another in it. Again, unlike the practice of schools of other characters, juvenile reformatories cannot receive and dismiss their classes at stated seasons of the work. Boys are being committed at all times, and for the new arrivals work must be found at once somewhere; and boys are being no less constantly released on parole and each one thus allowed to go creates a vacancy in shop or home which must be at once filled. On these grounds the somewhat indefinite character of the statistics presented finds its chief excuse. Some schools, however, present suggestive statements of division of labor and extent to which trades are followed. The varying forms of classification used make it necessary that the work of the schools should be described individually. It is believed that, taken together, these schools present fair types of conditions generally prevailing.

The Connecticut School for Boys is an unusual example of a school which combines productive industries on the one hand with a highly developed system of modern manual training on the other. It has six chair-caning shops which returned the institution \$7,624 in 1904-5. Printing, the manufacture of clothing, and the farm seem also to have been slightly productive industries. But during the same year the Manual Training School had an attendance of 216 in the

departments of sloyd and bench work, wood-turning, and forge-work. Besides these lines an average of 14 boys were employed in the tailor-shop making clothing and mending for the institution; 18 to 20 in the printing office; 30 on the farm in summer; and a smaller number look after stock in winter; while from 6 to 10 have regular employment in the various classes required for laundry, dining-room, kitchen, sleeping-rooms, etc.¹

With an average enrollment of 823 during the fiscal year 1903 the Ohio Boys Industrial School shows the following distribution of occupations. A considerable number of boys committed for truancy do not take up industrial work, but attend school all day.

Tailoring.....	64	Shoe shop.....	20
Carpentering.....	8	Steam laundering.....	28
Printing.....	32	Cooking.....	30
Blacksmithing.....	4	Baking.....	9
Brick making.....	32	Painting and glazing.....	6
Tin shop.....	4	Gardening.....	24
Floriculture.....	8	Dairy.....	8
Electrical department.....	10	Plumbing.....	8
Engineering.....	7	School of telegraphy.....	20
School of phonography.....	10	Table waiters.....	37
Band.....	24	Mending-room.....	32
Butchering.....	4	Horticulture.....	6
Hospital steward.....	1	Teamsters.....	18
Office boys.....	5	Street construction.....	5
Employed at store-room.....	3	Street and lawn department.....	22
Assistants to cottage matrons...	80	Farm and general work.....	80

It will be noticed that practically none of these industries are remunerative in the sense of bringing in money; though very many of them are distinctly profitable in supplying the labor, repairing, and products needed by the institution. The report of the Superintendent for 1903 urges upon the legislature the need of an equipment for varied manual training and of money wherewith to pay teachers in these lines. In estimating the amount of efficiency acquired in various lines of industrial work, it must be remembered that the boys attend school half of each day; and that the duration of their stay in the institution varies from 14 months to 2½ years.

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

Each Department of the Ohio Boys School keeps careful account of the labor done. The Report of the State Board of Charities notes that much of the work of erecting new buildings has been done by the various trades classes and that of the 1210 acres occupied by the institution, 250 are under regular cultivation, besides 200 in fruit.¹

St. Mary's Industrial School of Baltimore had, during 1904, a total attendance of 876. The school receives a part of its support from the State of Maryland and from Baltimore, but is obliged to supplement these sources of income with donations and the productive labor of the boys. The distribution of boys among the various lines of work was as follows on November 30, 1904:²

Department—Bakery	5	Engine-rooms.....	5
" Brush (3 floors). 123		Greenhouses	4
" Carpentry.....	3	Farm and garden.....	5
" Hosiery (house) .	6	Halls and dormitories	12
" Printing.....	22	Kitchen and dining-rooms.....	18
" Shoe.....	6	Laundry	6
" Tailor (city).....	163	Painters and glaziers.....	3
" " (house)... 38		Mattress-making	4

The productive character of much of this work may be judged from the Treasurer's report which shows that for the year ending at the above date, the income had been \$14,128 from the shops (printing, brush, and city tailoring), and from the farm and greenhouse \$14,216, much of the latter, of course, being used for the support of the inmates directly. All the boys attend school from seven to ten each morning. This school believes that its work in printing and floriculture is peculiarly successful in that it combines productiveness for the institution and a fairly thorough vocational education which the boy is likely to profit from when released.

The Maryland House of Reformation for Colored Boys gives the following statistics of its occupations: Total number employed, 182. In cane shop, 83; farm, 30; shoe shop, 6; laundry, 11; domestic cleaning, etc., 30; tailor shop, 8; blacksmithing and painting, 2 each; carpenter shop, boiler house,

¹ *An. Rep.*, 1904: 40.

² *An. Rep.*, 1904.

hospital, 1 each; and a few sick, unemployed, or miscellaneous. The Superintendent finds that the chair-caning no longer pays and as it has little educative value, something else should be substituted. As the boys are not old (median age slightly over 13) it is difficult to find suitable industries for them, but he thinks more should be employed on the farm.¹

Another Maryland School which receives part of its support from the state and the city of Baltimore is the House of Refuge. Out of the 220 boys in this school² 93 were employed at contract work (city tailoring apparently), 33 at domestic tailoring and sewing, 10 in farm, greenhouse, or yards; 8 in boiler house or making repairs; and the rest, with the exception of 29 juniors who were in school full time, at various forms of domestic labor. But in addition to the above, the school has a well-equipped manual-training school which employed 51 boys during year ending December 31, 1905 at such work as forge, machine, sheet metal or tin, venetian iron, and drawing-work. There are also printing and wood-turning departments where systematic instruction is given, but the relative numbers taking this work are not stated.

As noted before, the Rhode Island Boys School attempts instruction in certain trades to the end that the boys may go directly into the shops of Rhode Island. With a total attendance of 660 for year ending January 1, 1905 there were in the various trades departments the following numbers: printing, 15; blacksmithing, 17; machine, 24; carpenter, 15; mason, 25; shoe, 20; engineering, 14; tailoring, 34. Extensive farming was done by the larger boys, and the smaller ones are recorded to have raised poultry to the value of \$633.³

One of the best equipped schools for industrial work is the Philadelphia House of Refuge, Boys Department. With an average attendance of nearly 800 and with over 1000 boys receiving instruction for some time during the year, the school has part of its population distributed throughout its various

¹ *Biennial Rep.*, 1903.

² *Rep.* 1905.

³ *Rep. of State Board of Char. and Cor.*, 1904: 33.

shops as follows (not all of the boys, of course, having been employed during the entire year): masonry, 27; shoe, 23; printing, 54; blacksmithing, 16; tailor, 72; sewing and repairing clothes, 64; carpentry, 47; painting and frescoing, 29; engineering (machine work, electricity, plumbing, etc. 42;) bakery, 14; laundry, 92; and a large but unspecified number working on farm, at domestic work, and miscellaneous occupations. The trades classes have been utilized to erect buildings, to build walls and culverts on the grounds, and in making furniture for some of the cottages. Farming and dairying work sufficient to meet the needs of the institution is carried on, but it does not appear that any products are sold. It should also be noted that all of the work results in some valuable output—that is, none of the trades work is taken solely for practice, but a definite product is sought and expected.¹

The following table is given by the Michigan Industrial School for Boys as showing the distribution of inmates in trades during the years 1902-3 and 1903-4:²

	1902-3.	1903-4.
Printing-office.....	60	60
Tailor-shop.....	70	70
Shoe-shop.....	35	35
Carpenter-shop.....	50	40
Engine-room.....	12	12
Paint-shop.....	20	20
Bakery.....	14	14
Laundry.....	15	16
Boys' kitchen.....	20	25
Boys' dining-room.....	16	20
Mending-room.....	45	45
Dormitory and cleaning.....	60	60
Officers' kitchen.....	10	12
Office-boys.....	2	2
Hospital-boys.....	2	2
Dairy.....	30	25
Farm and grounds.....	227	240
Sloyd department.....	..	16
Total.....	688	714

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

² *Biennial Rep.*, 1904.

This school has also a sloyd department which has recently been started; and it asks for an appropriation wherewith to start a department of telegraphy and stenography, believing that these would provide a considerable opportunity for boys looking for good vocations.

A good manual training school is part of the equipment of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys. The following table shows the labor distribution among the occupations June 30, 1904:¹

Bakery.....	18	Sewing-room.....	10
Carpenter-shop.....	4	Shoe shop.....	15
Engine-room.....	8	Sloyd.....	80
Garden.....	45	Stock farm.....	10
General farm-work.....	16	Tailor shop.....	25
General service.....	55	Teamsters.....	9
Laundry.....	13	Yard.....	9
Office.....	2		
Paint and blacksmith shop.....	8	Total.....	327

From the standpoint of industrial education in general it is impossible for us to give more than a tentative interpretation of the above tables. All of these schools are working experimentally in greater or less degree, and of none of them can it be said that they have either the equipment or trained teachers in all respects that they would wish. It must be remembered that a considerable number of the children are below the age at which children are supposed to work systematically; but the necessities of discipline in these institutions are such that the boys must be kept employed much of the time. Hence some of the domestic or contract work may partake of the nature of "busy work" such as primary teachers frequently resort to. There is no evidence that the work, in any of its forms, becomes physically oppressive to the child, when the short hours and mild control are taken into consideration.

The changed spirit in the work of the juvenile reform schools can be most satisfactorily exhibited by their own reports of their work and ideals. Naturally, these tend sometimes to be optimistic and perhaps somewhat overstate the

¹ *Bien. Rep.*, 1904.

actual conditions of affairs, since all of these schools are obliged, in the present state of public sentiment, to constantly demonstrate their right to existence and support. Frequently those connected with the schools are enthusiasts and believe greatly in the importance of the work they are doing. While, therefore, the accounts given below, which are digested from the reports, are by no means a full and exact statement of conditions, they do serve to indicate the schools at their best and to show what are the ideals and standards that now obtain.

The Berkshire Industrial Farm is a privately managed institution in New York State, with an extensive tract (800 acres) of land and some eighty boys.¹ The work is largely farming and the blacksmithing and carpentry work that go with farming. "To keep the boys busy is the main reforming agency we have, with the goal before them that industry and good conduct will bring them good marks, and those will advance their grade, and enable them to gain an honorable discharge. They are all working to go out into the world, as they fancy, of independence, but no sooner are they out than they appreciate the happy life of the farm and without exception want to come back and make visits." A carpenter now directs their manual training work, having two classes of six boys each, each boy spending ten hours a week in the shop. In the summer these boys work out-of-doors in building construction and other carpentry work. There are other special instructors for glass-setting, painting and repairing; for forge work and blacksmithing; and for printing, the school publishing a monthly paper. Farming and stock-raising are carried on quite extensively, and steam-fitting and shoe-making are industries practiced as far as facilities will allow. This school has attempted to realize the conditions which surround a boy on a normal home farm, and much attention appears to be given to recreation, games and free play generally.

The Illinois Manual Training Farm School does not receive the worst delinquents, but rather those bordering on that

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

stage. So successful do they believe their division of work between school and farm and shops to be that the President of the Board, Mr. Butler, expresses himself thus: "The work in the school is now made almost as interesting as the work in the shops. Possibly some day the Public Schools of Chicago will divide their school hours as we now divide ours at Glenwood, one half of the time being given to books and the other half to work in the shops."¹ Again, speaking of the material with which they have to deal: "The boy in the city whose mechanical genius makes it possible for him to teach his fellows how to pick a lock, is just the material needed for our manual-training school. After he has worked for a week in the machine shop of this building he will look upon lock picking as something beneath his notice. . . This boy is not bad. He is just a boy, and because he is a boy he must have something to do. The sidewalks and the streets offered but little opportunity for play, and he and his friends naturally took up other matters. That is why he learned to pick locks." And again: "It is safe to say that 300 of the 365 boys at the school today are born leaders. They are naturally captains, and are going to be captains throughout their lives. Each of these boys will control, perhaps, ten others." Farming, printing, manual-training and machine-shop work, and miscellaneous work at spare moments in making novelties as colored bead chains, fobs, purses, burnt wood, etc., are the industries noted. A considerable number of boys have served as caddies on an adjacent golf-links, and the money so earned has been used in making improvements (swimming pool and instruments for the band) in which the boys themselves were greatly interested.

Some statistics of the various lines of work in the Baltimore House of Refuge have already been given.² This school is on the eve of moving into the country where it may have ample territory and develop the cottage system. Among the advantages expected, "The plan affords an opportunity for

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

² *Page* 99.

teaching the boys farming in all its branches, including masonry, building of cottages and other structures, repair work of varied kinds, horticulture and agriculture, in addition to the Manual Training which has been a marked success in our present quarters. . . . Another important factor is the relief of urban congestion and the dignifying of rural pursuits in the minds of the boys. Most of us must do that which is ordinarily termed commonplace work. To teach the boys that there is a commendable dignity about everything that is to be done, and that all work that is honestly and well done deserves and will receive commensurate reward, is something that is sure to be helpful to the boy and the State.”¹

“The Trade Schools of the Philadelphia House of Refuge have reached the point of affording for the larger boys, useful and skilful labor which enables them to readily get mechanical employment after they leave the house, at satisfactory wages; their knowledge of the use of tools makes them independent, and they perform most of the mechanical work about the buildings. They are now engaged in constructing additions to the School House which are in every way equal to the work of the main building.”² It is noted farther on in the Report that of the large number of boys employed on the farm, most of them are from the country districts, and that the majority of these obtain “a knowledge of agriculture under proper instruction” such as will open up useful employment to them on their return home. Some of the cottages have developed family gardens which have furnished liberal supplies of flowers and vegetables and which serve to enlist much interest on the part of the boys.

The above schools are under private or corporate management and supported largely by philanthropy. It is characteristic of these schools that they may, especially at the outset, embark in more experimental work than is possible in state institutions. But it is also true that they are often handicapped for the large funds necessary to carry on the modern

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

² *Rep.* 1905.

forms of industrial training. There is a strong probability that many of these homes are able to develop the "home" atmosphere more fully than the state schools and that, in consequence work which might ordinarily partake of the character of drudgery or factory work may assume an individual and interesting character. The Berkshire Farm Schools, the George Junior Republic, the Illinois Manual Training Farm School, the Thompson's Island Farm School of Massachusetts, and many others might be cited as possible examples. One cannot say that this is necessarily so; in fact there is good evidence that some of the privately controlled and perhaps privately supported schools make least of an appeal to the individuality and educative possibilities of the children. Sometimes such schools are little more than the old type of house of refuge with industries developed as fully as possible, to contribute to the support of the institution. Nevertheless, it is to the privately controlled schools that we must look for many interesting variations in industrial development. Men and women of philanthropic intentions and experimental turn of mind, with more or less insight into boy nature, will, in the smaller private schools, give the fullest test of theories in this field.

Passing mention only can be given to the work in a type of school which has developed under the auspices of certain cities or counties. These schools partake of the nature of parental schools, though sometimes only court cases are received. Such a school as this is the Newark City Home, New Jersey. Its Superintendent believes that it should, however, become truly the parental school of Newark, receiving children before they have necessarily crossed the borderland of criminality. It has developed manual-training extensively. "There is not a child in the Home who does not receive some sort of manual-instruction. The shops, the kitchen, the sewing-room, the field, the sloyd or wood-working schools, etc., all offer an excellent opportunity for the development of self-activity and the advancement of manual skill." Occupations here are as follows: Sloyd and basketry, 25 to 30 boys daily; printing department 15 to 20

daily, and shop proves quite remunerative; shoemaking 8 boys; tailoring 12 boys; engineering, laundry, bakery, kitchen, farm and considerable general building. Many of the boys who learned printing while in the establishment "are holding now well paid positions." The Trustees assert that "in detailing boys to work, their natural endowment, their mental and physical qualifications, and their rank in the class room are principally considered." And again: "In case of equal qualification for a certain trade, those children who have to support themselves are given the preference. But no matter whether the boys are occupied in school or whether they are kept busy in the shop or field, the educational element is never lost sight of. Important as the acquirement of knowledge undoubtedly is, their future career depends upon the formation of character, the strengthening of the will power, and the development of self-activity, all of which are of vital consequence."

Several counties in Massachusetts maintain Truant Schools which are practically farm schools. "The boys are employed largely at farm work and in the care of live stock," says the report of the Essex County Truant School: "In winter the boys have carpentry, printing, and caning chairs." The average age of boys committed is only 11½ years.

Out-of-door work is practically impossible in the large John Worthy School (the Parental School of Chicago), owing to lack of room. Hence much is made of manual-training and bench and lathe work of all sorts. The smaller boys work at card-board, paper, raffia, decoration, drawing, sketching, coloring and pyrography work, while telegraphy and typewriting are features that are well developed for the older boys, as is also printing. One notes with some interest in the last report (1904) that "the class room methods were changed during the year and now none of the classes in the first, second and third grades are taught manual-training in the work shop, but their entire day of six hours is devoted to class room studies and in teaching the essentials on which an education is based." When we recall that a large number of the first, second and

third grade boys (see table, p. 56) are from twelve to sixteen years old, one wonders what was the pedagogical reason for the change.

A City Home which is striving to obtain a country environment is the Cincinnati House of Refuge. With an average number of inmates of nearly 450 this institution is still confined to the indoor industries. Sloyd, carpentry, printing, tailoring, shoemaking, baking, engineering (as assistants to institution work), greenhouse floriculture, and the band are the lines developed in addition to the usual domestic work. In the sloyd work 48 boys have received daily instruction in the Swedish sloyd system, which "means the proper use and care of tools, making the hand obedient servant of the brain, training the eye for good form and shape, and teaching neatness and correctness in the execution of their work. Several boys have finished the first course of fifty models, and are now working on the second course of 36 models."¹

Among the homes supported and controlled by the state, the St. Charles Home for Boys in Illinois is the latest and in many of its appointments it is thoroughly modern. The Superintendent, who has had the planning of the buildings says that it "is our purpose to plan and construct our farm and industrial buildings so that each will be adapted to serve a double use. For example, the well-lighted, well-drained and well-ventilated dairy barn will not only serve as a sanitary place in which to stable cows kept for producing milk, but also a place where the boys will daily be given practical knowledge of the principles of hygiene, and practice of the laws which determine the health and comfort of domestic animals and also the fitness or unfitness of animal products for human food. The dairy barn will also be a laboratory in which boys will learn, among other things, how to compound a ration best suited to the characteristic needs of each cow in producing the largest quantity of pure milk at the least cost. The creamery will not only be a place suited to the care of milk and making butter

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

and cheese for daily use, but also a class-room in which the boys will be given such technical training as will qualify them for skilled helpers in farm dairies and creameries. So also in planning and building the breeding and feeding barn, the shops and all industrial buildings, their fitness for giving industrial training is a feature which must be given first consideration, because the demand for lads and young men having technical training and practical experience in husbandry and other industrial lines always exceeds the supply." The educational method designed for this school is an alternation of class-room work with some form of substantial training, "in which the giving of technical instruction is daily associated with learning to do by doing." Again quoting the Superintendent; "I have learned by observation and experience that very few boys fail to become intensely interested in some branch of husbandry or in some of the useful trades."¹ This school, formally opened July 5, 1905, has an equipment of nearly 1000 acres of rich land, \$325,000 worth of cottages and industrial buildings, and an additional sum of \$135,000 to be put into further equipment.

Extensive out-door work characterizes the practice of the Colorado State Industrial School. Industrial work and school work come on alternate days. The wood-working department of the manual-training shops seems to especially attract attention. Having over one hundred and twenty acres, the school carries on agricultural operations to supply the needs of the school and it is noted that a coal mine, worked by the school, the digging of a deep well, and the erecting of additional buildings are among the local industries. The legislature is asked to provide the funds to develop a conservatory partly to aid in gardening and for ten typewriters so that boys who desire to fit themselves for office work may have the opportunity. Printing is also a local industry. The authorities believe that with the pressure on the institution of new cases boys are frequently paroled before they have ac-

¹ *Proc. of Formal Opening* (a pamphlet).

complished as much industrially as should be the case. Hence the provision of appropriations for more cottages is made.¹

The state of California has two large reform schools. The older, the Whittier State School, has 120 of its 160 acre tract devoted to farm, vegetable garden, and orchard. A large variety of fruit trees are found on the place, besides a fairly extensive equipment of cows, horses, hogs, chickens, etc. "The farm work is mostly done by the boys. General farming is taught to such boys as wish to learn; also horticulture, gardening, and floriculture. The place has a greenhouse in charge of a florist as instructor, and flowers are grown in great profusion." A central three-story building has shops for the various industries as laundry, tailorshop, shoe-shop, printing-office, carpenter shop, electric lighting plant, power plant, etc. "Some boys are instructed in all these departments."² The Preston School of Industry, occupying 570 acres of land in the middle part of the state of California has also extensive provision for farming and is seeking to develop trades schools.

In the state of Washington the Board of Control of State Institutions has sought to develop systematic productive labor in all the institutions with the result, so far as the State Reform School is concerned, that "in the shoe department we have continued the manufacture of shoes for the Insane Asylums and Soldiers' Home. The tailoring department, in charge of a competent tailor, is turning out large quantities of clothing for the Hospitals besides making all the clothing required for the boys at the School."³ But this manufacturing is not the sole industrial work of the boys of the Washington Reform School. "Besides tending the farm, the boys have cleared a large tract of land during the present term, which is now being broken and will greatly increase the tillable acreage of the institution. The carpentry department

¹ *Rep. of State Board of Char. and Cor.*, 1904: 72.

² *Rep. of State Board of Char. and Cor.*, 1904: 51 and 53.

³ *Rep. of State Board of Control*, 1905: 34.

has been employed the greater portion of the time in making general repairs about the buildings, in painting, in building a shed 16 by 70 at the cow barn, building a greenhouse, and other work along these lines." This institution has about 140 boys whose median age is slightly under 13 years at commitment.¹

The Missouri Training School for Boys has 358 acres of land but finds this insufficient. Many of its buildings have been erected by the boys, the state supplying only the lumber, heating apparatus and other manufactured articles. "The bricks were made by the boys and all the work upon the buildings was done by them under the supervision of the officers of the school. . . . The boys while doing this work received practical instruction in brick-making, brick-laying, carpentering, plastering, painting, plumbing, and other useful trades, so that there was a two-fold benefit to the state." The superintendent notes in his report that the equipment for teaching printing is too small and recommends increased facilities in this trade.²

A carefully graded course in manual training or wood-working is one of the features of the Kansas Boys Industrial School. A variety of articles made by the pupil gives the familiarity with tools which makes much more possible the teaching of the trades which follows. Besides the manual training, this school notes as its trades carpentry, harness-making, shoe-making, cooking, engineering, bricklaying, laundry, farming, gardening, dairying, and baking. Some of the boys who work at harness-making become excellent workmen "and by the time they leave us they are fully qualified to conduct shops of their own."³ The industrial problem of this school is said to be complicated by the fact that about one-third of the boys are colored, especially when it comes to paroling the boys to homes. The school has no shop for the printing trade and urges an appropriation therefor, the superintendent believing

¹ *Rep. State Board of Control, 1905: 109.*

² *Rep. 1904.*

³ *Rep. 1902.*

that "the printer's trade is one that appeals strongly to many boys, and with a knowledge of typesetting many of them could leave school fairly well equipped for making a living."¹

In the Iowa Boys' Industrial School the Superintendent also asks that appropriation be made for the establishment of a printing office. Telegraphy is now being taught and it is hoped to enlarge this department of work. Extensive farm work is carried on and the Superintendent points out that, with the large average attendance which is slightly over 500 more land could be utilized. But he thinks that possibly farm-work is not the best form of industrial training. "I am inclined to the opinion that so far as bettering the condition of the boys who come under the care of this institution is concerned, that an extension of the shop work and trades would be better than a larger farm, for the reason that very few of them will follow farming after they pass out of the school. Ninety per cent of the boys come from towns and cities and they will go back to their homes and follow some trade or avocation which will permit them to live in a town or city. They do not take as kindly to farming while in school as they do to the shops."²

As previously noted the Wisconsin Industrial School for boys has a large class in manual-training and sloyd. Carpenters and other wood-workers train the boys in the use of various machine and hand tools and the boys "learn to make the classes of joints, besides articles of use such as tables, chairs, desks, etc., and do various kinds of repair work." "About eighty of the smaller boys who are too young (out of 333 boys committed during the biennial period 1902-4, 104 were from ten to twelve years of age) and not strong enough physically for work in the field or in the shop do sloyd work two hours daily during a good portion of the year." These smaller boys in summer do light field work, as weeding, picking berries, etc. There is noted bench work, carving, basketry, rug-weaving, pulp work, plaster-paris molding and chiseling, drawing, water-color painting, and colored crayon work. It

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

² *Rep. Iowa Board of Control*, 1903: 710.

is interesting to find the superintendent of this school also expressing his opinion on the question of what employment the boy is apt to follow. "Most of them (i. e. the six hundred and more boys in the school and on parole) are doing well, particularly those placed in good homes in the country. Most of them, however, are city boys, with no desire or aptitude for country life. For them employment must be obtained in the cities. City employers of labor are earnestly requested to think of these boys, and whenever possible to give them a chance to make men of themselves."¹

The Michigan Industrial School for Boys has already a fully developed line of industries of the usual type but the Superintendent wishes to add a large department of typewriting and stenography. "In looking out for employment for these boys, which I am constantly doing, I find, after careful investigation, that a department of stenography and typewriting would be a valuable acquisition for this school. In two of the rooms stenography is being taught, but to be of real benefit to the boy, typewriting should be taught at the same time and should be taught in a room for that purpose, as the teacher cannot give the class in stenography special attention when she has fifty or sixty boys in other studies. We could turn out some fine operators if we only had the equipment. It would cost about \$2000 to fit up a room and equip it with twenty good typewriters and about \$600 per year to hire a competent teacher. It makes a great difference to a good brainy boy whether he leaves this school at seventeen with or without a means of earning his living. Boys, as a rule, are not lazy. They like to work, if by working they can accomplish something. What a boy dislikes most of all is to work just for the sake of keeping himself busy."²

To the list of trades now become familiar, the Indiana Boys' School adds gas-making, plastering, brick-making and brick-laying. Great stress is laid on the practical and educative character of the work done in the trades. "No polytechnic

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

² *Rep.* 1904.

or technical school keeps industrial education more prominently in view than does this school. Realizing that all boys cannot enter the "Trades' Schools" extensive manual-training schools have been established. The wood-shop contains 48 work benches, well equipped with tools. Here two classes are taught each day. The course of instruction is the same as the best sloyd schools in Sweden. The blacksmithing and iron-working shop is equipped with the latest improved forges, and here 22 boys can be taught all kinds of iron work, including horse-shoeing."¹ Of this school the Board of Control says: "In the present unstable and turbulent condition of the industrial world, the Indiana Boys' School is one of the very few places in the state at which a Hoosier boy, by birthright inheritor of equality of opportunity with any one anywhere is able as a right to learn certain useful trades at which men can make their living."²

"In assigning boys to a department, natural inclination is taken into consideration as far as possible," says the Superintendent of the Ohio Boys' Industrial School;³ "so that a boy can learn a trade for which he has a natural bent, and which he will probably follow when he leaves the institution. There are some boys, however, who have not the ability to take up a trade or receive technical training. These boys are assigned to ordinary labor, or work which they can perform." Of 482 boys committed to this school during the year 1904, 103 were twelve years of age or younger. The Superintendent feels that manual training for the smaller boys should be established. "This should be along the sloyd system, and then extended into a more simple form of drafting and wood-working. A system of this kind could be established without great expense and would be of great value in teaching the boy how to skillfully use his hands." Telegraphy is one of the strong features of this school. "We have very little trouble in securing positions for boys going out from this department, and, as a rule, the boys are doing well."⁴

¹ *Circular of Information* issued by school.

² *Rep.* 1903.

³ A list of trades in which was given on p. 98.

⁴ *Rep.* 1904.

The New Jersey State Home adds to a full list of usual institutional industries telegraphy and stenography; and a well-developed sloyd department under special instructor. Here "in addition to the usual knife and bench work and wood-carving usually found in a department of manual-training, we have made a specialty of pyrographic work. This brings out the regular principles of construction and also free-hand drawing, burning, and the application of color. We do not claim any particular advantage in the act of burning, but the fact that a pupil must make a good free hand design before he will be allowed to burn it on wood, which he is always anxious to do, makes it a strong lever in favor of drawing. We have modeling in paper pulp for younger pupils, from which they get a knowledge of form work, which cannot be had by other means. We expect to take up basketry later."¹ This school is one of the very few state schools that manufacture articles for sale. It still retains a brush-making shop, but appears to attach less importance to this work.

The Maine State School for Boys also receives a slight income from manufactured articles (cane-seating of chairs), but it is looking forward to the development of other trades. Hitherto farming has been their chief reliance, and the rudimentary carpentry and blacksmithing which go along with farming. Of their inmates "more than one-third come from the country, and will probably return to the country after leaving school. These boys often prefer farming to mechanical or business pursuits, and they gladly avail themselves of the opportunities they have here of learning more about farm work. . . . They get a practical acquaintance with the arts of agriculture, horticulture, and dairying.

But there are other boys to whom the country life does not appeal. They are the boys who will probably live in the city, and many of them have a liking for some mechanical pursuit. We have an excellent mechanical school where the rudiments of carpentry are taught and where boys can acquire skill in

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

the use of wood-working tools, but I believe we ought to extend our industrial and manual training into new fields, so that we may be able to better equip such boys for the activities of life. In some of our reformatory schools bricklaying, painting, printing, blacksmithing, etc., are taught the boys and I trust that we may later be able to give the boys increased opportunities of learning trades which shall make them able to earn a respectable living when they leave school.”¹

The Massachusetts School for Boys has long had developed extensive lines of farm-work, building occupations, some of the structures now in use having been largely erected by the boys, carpentry and printing. Manual training and sloyd, however, have in recent years received especial attention. With a total enrollment of 554 during 1904 and an average daily attendance in the school of 329 (including the Berlin School for smaller boys) we find that there were 232 pupils in various manual-training classes; 140 in sloyd; 74 in wood-turning; and 18 in carpentry. The Superintendent thinks that the spirit of this work is shown by the following quotation from one of the teachers: “This one point I have tried to keep in view all the year, that if a boy failed to be interested or to accomplish the thing undertaken, the teacher was at fault, not the pupil.” The boys released on probation from this school average about fifteen years of age (15.3 years in 1904) after an average detention (for those released for first time) of 18.4 months. Hence it is not pretended that the boys are taught trades; that is left for the apprenticeship or later period. But “during the past year several applications have been made by the boys near their honor grade to be allowed to stay and learn a trade. This may be a pointer towards the duty of opening the way to teaching trades to certain boys who have stability and purpose enough to hold them steady for the few months necessary to gain the elements of a trade. It would seem reasonable to supply the opportunity to those anxious to learn a trade and willing to defer to a

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

future date their probationary success that the opportunity might be grasped. A few marked cases of success on the part of some thus instructed would seem to indicate that there is a field for usefulness which has not been sufficiently considered. Again: "A serious lack of the school is suitable employment for a considerable number of boys out of school hours. The teaching of trades might in a measure supply this want.¹

The teaching of agriculture, in contrast with merely working at it under direction, is attempted in the Lyman School. "Practical lessons have been given in the school gardens in preparing the ground, sowing seeds, hoeing, killing destructive insects, and harvesting, during the summer months. Each class-room was given a piece of ground 60 feet by 48 feet, divided into 40 plats, with paths. 32 plats were planted to vegetables, and eight to flowers." In these a variety of vegetables, etc., were grown and careful record kept of the return, and its value. "The great result (of the work) was not the amount of crops raised, but the interest in agricultural work which was kindled in every boy. It is recommended that more ground and more time be given to garden work next year during the summer months, that a piece of ground be given to an ambitious boy where he may spend his leisure time if he desires; that the boy be allowed to have the crops for his own use or be paid for the produce at the price it would receive in the outside markets." It is also noted that the increasing interest in agricultural work has led "to the taking sixty boys from the lowest grades into the greenhouse for one lesson each week, in mixing soils, potting plants, making cuttings, planting seeds, pricking out and transplanting. The present interest guarantees good results." The report of the Principal of the School Department under whom the above work has been carried on contains some further interesting suggestions which bear quoting: "The only hope of developing moral life in a boy is to get him interested in some kind of work. The best way to start this

¹*Special Reports of Instructor, 1904.*

interest is to give the boy an opportunity to learn a trade. This should not be required, for then it would defeat its own end. If it is made elective the larger per cent of our boys will select a trade with some wisdom after six months' experience in the school. The boys should receive first upon entering the school their manual-training work and then be allowed to choose their trade. To get boys interested to learn a trade the work should be conducted for the purpose of teaching the trade and not forgetting a certain amount of work done in the most economical way, and yet most trades could be made partially self-supporting."¹

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(See also list of general references at end of volume.)

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF REFORM SCHOOLS (*Continued*)

5. GENERAL ASPECTS OF MORAL EDUCATION

FROM the point of view of moral education the children committed to juvenile reform schools are those in whom the adverse influences of neglect, evil environment, idleness, and naturally vicious tendencies have produced depraved habits, low ideals, and very inadequate moral intelligence. Hence they present problems of moral education unlike, in degree and in kind, those presented to any other institution. Under normal conditions, the greater part of moral education is accomplished by the home and parents, the school and church supplementing their work by expanding moral knowledge and by inculcating moral ideals, and, in slight measure, by forming some moral habits. But to the reform school come children whom the home has neglected; who have become warped through the absence of control or through misdirected control; and whom, as a rule, the church has not influenced. For a period ranging from one to three or four years in the majority of instances, the school must stand *in loco parentis* to this class of children, correcting bad habits, forming more wholesome ones, developing certain ideals and attitudes which will prevent a relapse on their return to independent life, and in giving the knowledge of moral law and order which should be the portion of each member of society.

Apart from certain procedures developed in highly specialized social groups as religious bodies, medieval military or industrial guilds, and similar self-conscious organizations, little is known of methods and means of moral education. The moral education carried on by the family is still largely a matter of so-

cial tradition, having little conscious and organized expression. The moral education carried on by the school, as we ordinarily know it, is also largely a matter of more or less unconscious social imitation, and the means adopted not unfrequently defeat the end at which they are aimed, owing to the very limited existing knowledge of this field. Hence it is not surprising that the attempts at moral education within the juvenile reform schools have been largely experimental; and such practice as now obtains has largely been worked out more or less unconsciously and even at present finds very imperfect expression in any form of theory. But it is true that this empirical process has given some very good results, that the schools have developed procedures which are well worthy of study. Considering the material with which they have to deal and the circumstances under which they are oftentimes obliged to work, they do accomplish very marked results in the field of moral education.

While in the early history of the juvenile reform school, the dominating ideal was to make of it a separate prison adapted to the special needs of children, it was not long before the idea of prison as a place of punishment tended to have less force, as has already been pointed out. But as a house of refuge it still retained its prison characteristics, and the moral influence of the institution was not unlike that of the prison. Succeeding this came the ideal of making of these institutions homes which would, as far as possible, give to the delinquent child the normal home environment and control of which he had been presumptively deprived. Back of the development of the cottage system, which has now come to be generally accepted as the right plan for these institutions, has been the more comprehensive ideal of attempting, in the interests of moral education, to surround the child committed to the care of the institution, as far as possible, with the conditions of a good home. The provision of a cottage with housefather and housemother, the disappearance of locked doors and barred windows as well as walls, the encouragement of a certain amount of freedom and spontaneity on the

part of the children, the setting apart of social rooms with libraries and games—all these have been in the direction of securing to the child committed the conditions which a good home should offer; and nearly all of this has been done in the interests of a wholesome and broad moral education.

No complete separation is possible of the elements in the complete education of a child. In the moral education of delinquents there are certain basal conditions of nurture which must necessarily be considered. The majority of the children committed to these schools are in greater or less degree the victims of malnutrition. Poor and insufficient food, irregular hours of eating, overindulgence at intervals, idleness, lack of proper exercise, absence of right shelter and clothing—in fact low-grade hygienic surroundings generally, have resulted in a state of imperfect nurture and low physical development. Disease and vice have frequently made their contribution, and it is hard to say, sometimes, whether the depravity of the child committed is cause or effect of these conditions. But there is general agreement that right conditions of physical hygiene constitute the first step in moral reform. More attention will be given to this phase of the subject later, it being sufficient to say, at this point, that in the great majority of institutions studied, the conditions of food supply, both in quantity and amount, of cleanliness, of shelter, and of exercise are fairly adequate, as contrasted with the homes of the class of people from whom the majority of inmates come. The ideal has by no means been reached in this direction and not infrequently it is found that inadequate appropriations have resulted in a stinting of food or the provision of a too monotonous supply. Conditions still prevail where there is too persistent work, and not enough of wholesome relaxation and exercise. But on the whole, contrasting the conditions of the institutions both with their condition in past years, and also with the conditions which surround the children of the laboring classes generally, it must be said that the needs of nurture have been fairly well met.

Attendance at the school of the ordinary type—for the

learning of reading, writing, etc., and at the various industries of the institution also has its pronounced moral effect.¹ Rightly conducted, these phases of institutional life become largely contributory to the habits and ideals that make for the development of character.

Chief consideration will be given here, however, to those agencies which have been developed primarily for the purposes of moral education. The relative importance of applications of religious instruction, of discipline and punishment, of the personal influence of various members of the staff of the school, of the merit system, and of classification cannot be entered into here. It will be sufficient to describe each as a means which, within certain limits, is capable of considerable development. Since the inauguration of the cottage system the moral agency of the juvenile reform school which has been most discussed has been that of classification.

6. CLASSIFICATION

In the work of the juvenile reform schools the idea of classification carries with it the notion of segregation and even isolation. The main purposes are, first, to prevent the contamination of the less hardened or less mature children by those farther advanced along undesirable lines; and, second, to make it possible to adjust discipline, freedom, and various educational means to the more specific needs of classes, differing in their character. In a minor way, classification is also occasionally used as a kind of moral stimulus, as where one cottage is made an "Honor" cottage into which children will strive to get.

Classification, of course, had its beginnings with the establishment of childrens' prisons, for these were organized primarily to prevent the contamination of children by mature criminals. From that time to the present the process of classifying children who come under this system has continued, until today the more advanced of the schools manifest an ex-

¹ Charlton, *N. C. C. C.*, 1900: 188.

traordinary range of division of children into groups with appropriate treatment for each group.

Historically, one of the most interesting phases of this question hinges around the efforts to distinguish between delinquent and dependent children. It can easily be seen that as philanthropic insight became awakened, the neglected or abused child who became incidentally an offender against the laws would be recognized as not essentially different from the neglected child who had not reached the stage of offence. Hence we find that many schools under private or philanthropic auspices did not and do not yet make a clear differentiation between children technically guilty of an offence and those who are neglected.¹ But the increasing prominence of the state institutions has made the distinction a necessary one, however artificial it may be; so that today a very definite line is drawn between children technically offenders and those merely dependent. This distinction has been further emphasized in those states which have developed a probation system, the effect of which is to prevent the conviction or sending to reformatories of children who have become only temporarily offenders; and to cause to be sent those children who have given repeated evidence of their incorrigible nature, so far as ordinary environment is concerned.² ³

Many of the schools, when first established, erected separate buildings for boys and for girls, but under the same management. But the proximity of the two institutions has not seemed to work well in any instance, and latterly the tendency has been to put the schools for girls and boys under different managements and at a distance from each other. This has seemed increasingly necessary in proportion as the plans of the institutions comprehended an

¹ A thoughtful discussion of the difficulties of making this classification is found in *Report (1904) of the New York Juvenile Asylum*, p. 67. See also *Nat. Conf. Char. and Cor.*, 1902: 446.

² Morrison, *Juvenile Offenders*, p. 300 *et seq.* for valuable discussion.

³ In Pennsylvania the law now prohibits the reception by one institution of dependent and delinquent children. See discussion in *Char.*, 11: 426.

abandonment of the older prison features of walls and barred windows, and tend to put a premium on freedom and liberty to move over a large area of farm or playground.^{1 2}

Within the institution proper, with the advent of the cottage system, some form of classification became necessary. This subject is being widely and variously experimented upon and it is yet too early to say what will ultimately be the basis of classification. But there is no doubt that this has come to be the most powerful instrument of moral education in the hands of the managers of the schools. Every system of classification thus far adopted has produced some good results, although it is by no means certain which is the ideal scheme.

Before describing some of the systems in vogue, it is needful that we should see what is the entire problem involved. Usually children from ten to sixteen years are received by the institution; these represent all stages of intellectual advancement, but the majority of them belong to what are termed the lower grades in ordinary school work. Complete isolation is not practicable if the cottages do not each contain a school and workshop. Classification on the basis of school attainment would throw into the same cottage children of widely differing ages and moral character. On the other hand, classification according to any other basis will bring into each school children of many different grades of intellectual attainment and so make the work of teaching hard. For example, in one large school children are classified without reference to the character of the offence for which they are committed or their behavior in the institution. The superintendent of this school does not wish it assumed that the children are criminals, and he refuses to allow any reclassification after entering. In other words, the children are grouped according to age and physical development. Other schools find it desirable to have one or more cottages to which can be sent those children who have proven their ability to live under less restraint and who

¹ See Folks, *Charities*, 12: 622.

² For discussion of disadvantages, see *Report of Minnesota State Board of Control*. 1904: 253.

may be put on their honor. The opposite of this involves, of course, the existence of a cottage or cottages in which the discipline is much more rigid and where the more recalcitrant cases may be kept.

Further complicating factors in the problem of classification are introduced where there is a considerable number of negro children; since, on various grounds, it is found desirable to group the children of different races separately. In the two state schools in Massachusetts, also, attempts are being made to isolate the children of feeble mentality from those who seem normal in this respect. A few schools still receive youths up to eighteen years of age who must be treated largely by prison methods, and for these buildings and other conditions must be of special character. The problem of dealing humanely with the very young children sometimes received by these institutions is met by the Lyman School of Massachusetts through the establishment of a branch school at a considerable distance where the smaller children may have all the freedom and play that childhood on a farm insures. And the Girls' School in the same state has met the problem of dealing with the hardened offenders among the older girls by setting up a separate home at a distance of some miles from the main school.

In practice, we find that the matter of classification has different aspects, according as we consider schools for girls and those for boys. A very common sentiment among those who control girls' schools is expressed by the Trustees of the New Jersey State Home for Girls in asking for funds for another cottage:¹ "It is a grave mistake to place young and innocent girls, who may be committed for incorrigibility, truancy, or like offences, in the same company with girls who are committed for criminal offences of a grave character. Our view is that, upon admission to the institution, there should be sufficient room to classify these children, first, as to their ages at the time of their commitment, and, secondly, as to the offences for which they are committed." In the same report it

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

is urged that girls up to the age of 18 have the benefit of the home instead of drawing the line at 16, as the state has no reformatory for young women. The superintendent of the school claims that much evil results from the mingling of little girls, committed for truancy, with those of lewd tendencies. The buildings of this school are such that a small number of the girls may live in what is called the Honor Cottage. Here "the government is merely in name. The girls govern themselves, and any one visiting us for a few hours can appreciate the difference in the atmosphere of this house and that of the larger building." To a considerable extent, residence in the "Honor Cottage" is the reward of exceptional behavior, and is used as an incentive. It is also to be noted that this school, receiving a considerable number of colored girls, feels that a separate cottage for them would be of decided advantage from the standpoint of effective moral training.

Raising the age limit of commitment from sixteen to eighteen years is opposed by the Connecticut School for Girls¹ on the ground that this would introduce a wholly new and much hardened class of girls into the institution. Already here separate cottages are maintained for those who have offended against chastity and practically no contact is allowed between these and the girls of different character. A separate home for younger girls is one of the special features of this school. Central shops for cooking and dress-making are characteristic features, serving to relieve the otherwise complete isolation of different classes of girls.

More than half the girls committed to the Missouri Industrial Home for Girls are between 14 and 16 years (the maximum limit); "but if the laws governing commitments to this institution were extended (says the superintendent) so that children of tender years who either through neglect or waywardness are without proper parental guidance and restraint and are drifting into vagabondage and later on into crime could

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

be brought under its shelter and educated to lives of some purpose and value the state would gain immeasurably. Our law as at present framed takes cognizance of criminals only. . . . With our system of division into families there would be no association of the older and more criminal class of girls as each family lives entirely by itself.”¹

The plant of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls comprises a main building, four cottages, and assembly hall, etc. “The Main Home is for incorrigible and young girls who need the care and protection of the school. The cottages are additional and entirely separate buildings for proper restraint and influence over unchaste girls. The Merrill Model Home is for those girls who have attained the honor grade. In this department special training is given to prepare for parole, or dismissal on majority.”² But later, in discussing the needs of the institution (which has an average attendance of about 225, with a median age of 16 years at commitment, maximum age being 17) the Superintendent says: “Another need of the institutions is increased facility for closer moral grading and separation of the girls. The original aim of this institution was to supply a home for the friendless and unfortunate *innocent* child (this home is under private management, but supported by state). After a few years the state, having no reformatory for wayward women, imposed upon the Industrial School for Girls a criminal class. To separate this from the innocent class became at once the first duty of the management. Through the last appropriation some relief has been furnished, still there is not adequate room for the close moral separation.”³ Mention is elsewhere made in the report of the equipment of the Model Home which seems fairly perfect in its domestic appointments. It is the expectation that this home will serve the double function of providing a final and high grade training for girls about to go out; and that it will also serve as a stimulus to girls within the school to strive for the honor grade.

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

² *Rep.* 1904: 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 13.

Similar ideas on the classification of girls are shown in the last available report of the Colorado Industrial School for Girls.¹ Though an additional cottage has been built out of the last appropriation, "it is not possible, even in this cottage entirely to keep the good from the bad, the unfortunate from the vicious, the younger from the older and more depraved. . . . The very bad girls should be confined in a new cottage, while in the present building the better grade of girls could be kept entirely isolated from the others. It is wrong to allow the association and permit the intermingling of such different grades of girls. The state must provide sufficient buildings to make possible the separation of these different classes. Then the efforts of the superintendent and matrons to raise up the fallen and to sustain them till they outgrow their vices and gain sufficient strength to resist temptation, will be fully successful. They are taken and confined for the twofold purpose of removing the possibility of greater wrong and of effecting a reformation."

A further attempt at classification is made in the Girls Industrial School at Lancaster, Massachusetts. "One of the cottages, so far as its dimensions will allow, is used for feeble-minded inmates. In other households the girls are classified on the line of their experiences before commitment. This goes far to prevent the contamination of the relatively innocent by those more versed in wrong-doing. The cottage located on the adjoining farm at Bolton (some three miles distant) altogether removes from the grounds the girls who are returned for the most serious offences and the most degraded among the newcomers. This gives a better tone to the school at Lancaster."² A further statement regarding the home for the more feeble-minded is given by the superintendent. She points out that this school has been supplied with officers of special training, and special work provided. "Believing that the smaller the mind the greater the care necessary for its development, methods in work and play conducive to variety and relaxation

¹ *Rep.* 1902.² *Rep.* 1905: 16.³ *Ibid.*, 74.⁴ 1904.

were introduced." This varied work has not proven expensive but has had to be carefully planned, especially in its industrial features. "The economy of nerve force to the officer and the advantage to the individual girl in this grouping of the feeble minds, needs to be tried to be appreciated. With us the results have far exceeded our expectations. Such work has also dissolved into two distinct grades the latter class,—one capable of but small development, who all their lives must be dependent upon such protection as the well-ordered institution can provide, the other able to make self-supporting under favorable placings in families. It is to the latter the energies of our training should be lent."

This recognition of the need of segregation and special treatment for the feeble-minded girl is also expressed in the Report of the Illinois State Training School for Girls. The superintendent points out that, in operating the parole system, they find a certain number of non-placeable girls, "who should have custodial care all their lives." Without this "they simply become vagrants and as the weakling mothers of feeble-minded children, to use no harsher term," they become a burden on the community. The school claims to do all that is now possible to train these girls and finds places for many of them but "people do not want to have the supervision necessary for the safety of the girl and she is soon returned to us."

Classification and complete isolation are made possible by an elaborate series of buildings in the new State Training School for Girls at Hudson, New York. "So far as sleeping, eating, recreation, work on the grounds, schools, and daily living are concerned, the inmates of the several cottages are completely separated from the inmates of any other cottage. The only place where they meet is at chapel and at singing-school, and there the girls from each school sit together in charge of a matron."¹ Each cottage accommodates twenty-six inmates, with individual bedrooms. "The aim is to reproduce, as far as practicable, the processes, methods and spirit of an or-

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

dinary home." ¹ This institution is not yet old enough to have established a complete system of classification.

The above will serve to indicate the practices and ideals prevailing in the classification in typical girls' schools. Many of these schools have not yet made sufficient progress in the way of buildings to be able to establish a complete system of classification for purposes of moral education. The House of Refuge in Philadelphia has a complete separate school for colored girls. The Reform School for Girls in the District of Columbia has established an Honor Cottage for Girls which works well, as reported. The Rhode Island Home reports the need of another cottage (at present there is but one building) for purposes of classification. In a few states, as Minnesota and California, there is, in reality no Girls' Home, the latter being but a separate cottage under the same management as one of the boys' institutions. Michigan and Ohio have large schools with well-developed cottage systems.

In so far, then, as classification has consciously developed in typical girls' schools, it rests primarily on the basis of the offence for which the girl is committed. It seems to be possible to draw a fairly well marked line between girls of various classes, or at least custom makes it easy to draw such a line. The two subsequent divisions which seem to be practicable are into special groups, one for small girls, and one for those somewhat feeble-minded. Finally, the schools with facilities find it wise to develop an Honor Cottage for which candidacy is determined by behavior within the institution. With a fairly extensive classification some schools feel that they can receive inmates as old as eighteen years, but others feel that these should go to special reformatories. There is general agreement that, as far as classification goes, fairly complete isolation should be possible.

The cottage system as an institutional means of dealing with delinquent boys had its American origin in Ohio, where, through the efforts of a commission in 1858 the "Reform

¹ Special circular of 1904.

Farms of Lancaster" were established. From that time one can trace a very steady growth of the cottage system and it has usually been the case that when old schools were abandoned and new ones substituted the cottage plan has prevailed in the newer form. Within the last few years Supt. Hilles of the New York Juvenile Asylum conducted an extensive inquiry and found that the managers and superintendents of the vast majority of existing schools favored the cottage plan. While the newer system finds justifications on the grounds of better sanitary life, better discipline, and a more homelike atmosphere, it is nevertheless true that its chief justification is found in the opportunities it affords to classify the inmates. But, unlike the situation in girls' schools, boys do not at all easily fall into distinct categories, so we find at present practically no agreement as to how they should be classified.

Some superintendents believe that classification according to age and physical development is the best; that within the classes thus established there will not be sufficient moral contamination of some by others to offset the gain which comes through the schools refusing to recognize grades of offence for which the child is committed and the stimulating effect, morally, which follows the assumption that all the children intend to do right. One experienced superintendent strongly disapproves of any classification by "character." "Do not tell a boy that he is bad by putting him by himself or with any exclusive company of the bad. If you create any such pernicious distinction you do not restrain the spirit of evil: you develop it. If the bad boy sees that he is as well treated as the boy of superior merit, he will endeavor to rise to that merit. If you have good boys you need their supplementary influence over the bad. The natural Christian family does not discard and thrust into exile its wayward members, but seeks their reformation in company with all other members."¹ Supt. Nibecker who has made a good classification of the domestic conditions from which children come to the Philadelphia

¹Supt. Howe, *N. C. C. C.*, 1880: 209.

House of Refuge¹ would have school classification based mainly on size.²

On the other hand, the plans of two well-known New York institutions contemplate a much more extended classification. The new plant for the New York State School for Boys at Rochester embraces 1400 acres of fertile land, divided up into 50-acre farms. Each of these farms is to have its own house, master and matron, barns, etc., all arranged for some 25 boys each.³ Eight cottages will be grouped, however, about central shops for the "mechanically inclined." "Classification under these conditions," says Supt. Briggs, "can be made very nearly perfect; separated into thirty groups, it will be possible to put together those boys who are of such development and character as will entirely preclude any moral contamination."⁴

The New York Juvenile Asylum, under the superintendence of Supt. Hilles, is now developing the cottage system on a large tract of land not far from New York City. Regarding classification Supt. Hilles says: "While the reformatory system has marched onward, the evolution is not ended. In my judgment it is essential to carry the classification of boys to the last analysis. We minimize contamination by segregating the most criminal. Conditions will be improved in proportion by bunching boys of the same color, educational advancement, and grade of offence. This may seem utopian, but it is not so difficult of approach in institutions having 800 inmates assigned to 20 cottages with 40 each."⁵ Under its present conditions this institution now has its plan so arranged that children eat, sleep and play in their cottages, but attend school and workshops at a common center. This institution also has honor cottages in which the boys have in-

¹ *N. C. C. C.*, 1895: 216.

² *Annals of Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science*, 23: 483.

³ *Charities*, 12: 625.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 627.

⁵ *N. C. C. C.*, 1901: 274.

dividual rooms and certain other privileges. The entire plan looks to the development of independence in the boys.¹

As between these two ideals and the grouping which is purely accidental or unscientific, we find many stages of effort and experiment. The Missouri Training School for Boys, receiving youths up to eighteen years of age, serves somewhat as a reformatory, in the absence of that kind of an institution. In the law providing for the establishment of the school we find: "It shall be the duty of the Superintendent to classify the persons committed to said school according to conduct and grade, and separate the younger and less vicious from those who may be older or more hardened in crime; and the Superintendent shall provide by rule for the promotion from one grade to a higher grade of those whose conduct, habits, and disposition may justify it."²

The Lyman School of Massachusetts suggests three noteworthy features. There a branch of the main home has been established at Berlin for the smaller boys, especially the naturally somewhat innocent children under 14. Though this institution has not all the school advantages to be found at the main institution, yet "it also lacks every touch of the formality and restraint unescapable in a large institution. The Berlin house-mother has a wonderful gift with children." Here the individual needs of each child can be considered, and great freedom is allowed. Roaming the farm, climbing trees, playing with swings and other appliances provided, take up much of the time. In fact it has been criticised on the ground that life was too attractive and parents would be tempted to send their children there for the advantages of the place. Parents are allowed to freely visit their children here, and in other ways the life is made normal and unprisonlike. It is claimed that the results fully justify this form of classification. Of course the boys all work. Gardening, caring for chickens and other stock, etc., take up much time; but the work seems to be

¹ *Charities*, 10: 441.

² Sec. 7773 of Statutes quoted in Rep. for 1904.

carried on much as on a farm where the wholesome tasks are assigned to children, with an abundance of free time when the tasks are finished.¹ The second notable fact in this school is the beginning of an attempt to classify the feeble-minded boys. "The work for such boys in mental and manual instruction should be so conducted as to clearly demonstrate who are really so feeble-minded as to demand custodial care, and who, with painstaking education, can be prepared for life in the open community. Work of this character is an important function of such a school as this; and up to the present, so far as I know, very little intelligent systematic effort has been put forth in this direction by any corrective institutions."² Another plan which has not yet reached the practical stage is to have a separate institution for the harder and tougher cases. This scheme involves the raising of the age of commitment to the Lyman School to 17 or 18 years, and so take charge of a class of fairly deserving boys who must now go to the state reformatory; and also for those boys in the Lyman School who, committed at an earlier age, have not responded to the efforts of the school and are now "tough" big boys.³

Many interesting details arise in connection with the efforts of the institutions to develop classification. In those states where reformatories exist, legal permission has been sought to send to the reformatory those boys who become too large and refractory for the reform school to handle without measures too severe for the ideals of the schools. This becomes of especial importance in connection with the indeterminate sentence and the system of parole. Under these conditions the institution becomes morally bound to keep until the age of twenty-one the boy who has not proven responsive to discipline and educable. But such large boys, even when few in numbers, become a source of demoralization to the school and entail upon the management the obligation of developing genuine prison methods. Hence the desirability of being

¹ *Rep.* 1904 (see also reports for 1905 and 1906).

² *Rep.* 1906. See also *Char. Rev.*, 9:438.

³ See *Rep. Mass. Board of Char.*, 1904:72; and Lee, *N. C. C. C.*, 1903:62.

able to send this class to institutions better equipped to deal with them. It is curious to note that the legal permission to do this sometimes renders the need of such commitment unnecessary, as boys of this character at once put themselves into the class of the well-behaved.¹

The cottage group, however formed, has been taken advantage of to develop group loyalty and control. In the Philadelphia House of Refuge the cottages compete in military discipline for a banner. In the Lyman School in Massachusetts where the free life sometimes tempted boys to run away, a system has been adopted of making each cottage responsible for its runaways, and to give the cottage having fewest or no runaways a prize. There are some who urge that it is undesirable to have too much shifting of the inmates, once they are committed, so that this group acquaintance and loyalty may develop into something like the family spirit. Children promoted from cottage to cottage within the institution may fail to establish desirable intimacies and attachments, and so the system of promotion may bring other undesirable results.

For economic reasons it is highly desirable to have central schools, shops, assembly-rooms, and sometimes dining-rooms. Whether these will tend to nullify the effects of the segregation which the cottage system produces is yet under dispute. Many schools under the cottage plan are opposed to the congregate dining-room, as it interferes with some aspects of the family-like domesticity which is aimed at by the institution. The New York Juvenile Asylum, with its new plant, has a central kitchen, but cottage dining-rooms; and is able to make it work well by the use of special appliances for transferring cooked food and keeping it hot.

There are good reasons for believing that the juvenile reform-school system has by no means reached the end of the development of classification as an educational means. As will be shown more fully elsewhere, the evolution of the

¹ *Rep. Ind. Boys' School*, 1903: 10.

juvenile court and the probation system has largely changed the character of the boys committed to the reform schools. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and elsewhere where probation has been well developed, it is noted that the boys sent to the Reform School are harder characters. Some superintendents attribute this to the fact that the probation process begets indifference to the law and tends to foster criminality; but a more probable explanation is that the probation process prevents the relatively innocent and less vicious from being sent, saving them by other means. Jacob Riis, in criticising the great New York House of Refuge on Randall's Island, and noting that there is practically no classification except "according to size" also notes that the boys committed from New York City have been selected by the probation process, but that many boys from counties near New York are not so selected, and that one result of this is the herding of boys "reasonably good and innocent" with confirmed "hard cases."¹ Bridging the gap between the juvenile court and probation on the one hand and the public school on the other will undoubtedly soon develop day truant schools or day industrial schools which will take charge of all children whose home environment is at all satisfactory. England has an elaborately developed system of reformatory education, mostly carried on by private corporations receiving government subventions. These three distinct classes of institutions are recognized: Day Truant Schools, with compulsory attendance, and sometimes provision of meals; Industrial Schools to which straying or delinquent children are committed up to the age of 14; and Reformatories, to which children are committed between the ages of 14 and 16. It is believed that these have greatly lessened crime in England, but it is now urged that reformatories should be established for criminals over 16 and less than 18 or 20.² It is also still true in England that magistrates can send children to jail for short periods, or sentence

¹ *Charities*, 11: 28.

² See *Nineteenth Century*, 49: 88; and *N. C. C. C.*, 1884: 200.

them to a formal birching. Under some circumstances it is believed that this procedure is most humane and effective.¹ Since the English schools are smaller, as a rule, than those in America, it is evident that there the process of classification has proceeded along different lines—in fact, has taken the form of the establishment of separate schools for various classes.

Even in America there are not a few who believe that the ideal school for youthful offenders should be quite small and carried on far from any other school of its class. Little farms with plenty of outdoor work and freedom, some believe, would offer most suitable conditions. Here there would be no classification and it would be possible to bring healthful personal influence to bear upon each individual.

But it will be observed that a variety of limiting conditions must be taken into account. The small school is, economically considered, much more expensive per inmate than the large; again, if trades and other specialized forms of industries are to be taught, a large central plant is necessary; if, as in the case of the state schools, children are to be received up to the age of 16 and must in some cases be retained until majority, it is inevitable that many thorough-going criminals will be received along with comparatively unhardened children; and finally, it must be recognized that the effective treatment and education in all its phases of this class of children requires the assembling of a variety of experts who can be provided only by a large institution.

It seems probable, therefore, that, from the standpoint of classification, we may expect the future American Reform School to resemble a small village, under central management, but providing for the more or less complete separation of children according to the necessities of moral education. As in the case of the treatment of physical disease, those most likely to be sources of contamination will be set apart at some dis-

¹ Balfour, *Educational Systems*, p. 53, etc.; London County Council, *Report with Regard to Industrial Schools, 1870-1904*; and London County Council, *Report of Industrial Schools Committee, 1904*.

tance, so as to allow the largest possible measure of freedom to all those who can profit by freedom. And, within certain limits, the process of classification will be carried on within the institution, putting a premium on good behavior, on intellectual and moral worth, and segregating those who show signs of mental or moral imbecility. Along with this will also go classifications according to age, intellectual attainment, and type of industrial work pursued; the whole providing an exceedingly complex administrative problem in education, but amply justified for its difficulty by the increasing return it will make in the shape of effective character-forming.

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7. THE MERIT SYSTEM

Among the character-forming agencies which have attained peculiar development in the schools for juvenile delinquents, none is of more interest than the so-called merit or grade system. This has more points of analogy with the practices of prisons than of ordinary schools. It is well known that in many prisons a term of sentence may be considerably reduced by good behavior. Practically, this works out through the earning of credits by the inmate, or by his forfeiture of credits

through bad behavior. In a reformatory, for example, a person may be sentenced for a minimum of two years, but with the proviso that he may not be released until he has earned e. g. 7300 credits at the rate of ten each day. For every infraction of the rules he loses a sum of credits according to the gravity of the offence. Thus a person committed works out his own release, and is himself to blame if he stays in prison for a long period. The moral significance of this plan is that the prisoner, being frequently weak-willed, or of poor self-control, must put forth great and incessant effort in order to comply with the rules. If the incentive for this effort is his own release, he will strive as he would in response to no other incentive.

When, therefore, the schools arrived at the point where they received children committed for minority, but subject to parole or discharge at the will of the managers, it was natural that the merit system should be adopted. Unquestionably its moral effect has been very great in the case of children. For these, notwithstanding the home-like qualities of the best schools, are anxious to earn an honorable release. But, under the system of merits, every hourly act, every faithfully executed task or lesson, contributes to this end, or withholds the child from it. The result is a system of control which, for persistence and effectiveness, has no equal in the majority of cases; and which seems to contribute most effectively to character-building. Some descriptions of these systems will show their characteristics.

From the Boys Guide or Handbook (of the Indiana Boys School) we quote the following: "Every boy will receive ten merits each day or 300 merits each month during his stay here. For every month of perfect conduct he will receive as a present 100 extra merits, thus making 400 merits for the month. For three months continuous perfect record, 50 additional merits will be given; and it thus becomes possible to earn 5000 credits in twelve months. When you have earned 5000 merits you are entitled to go home. Remember, that to do this you must not receive any demerits, but must be perfect

in your conduct. You must also remember that the loss of ten merits deprives you of the 100 extra merits." The following table will show the offenses for which demerits are given:" (Here follows a table which shows, for example, that talk forfeits 10 merits; laziness, 10; quarrelling, 50; fighting, 100; tobacco, 100; vulgarity, 200; insubordination, 200; escape, 1000; etc.) Failure to hand in a report is doubly demerited, according to offence concealed. Should any boy commit an offence that calls for more demerits than he has merits, he will have to make them up. Sometimes boys have a chance to do brave and worthy deeds. Should you have this opportunity and do what you should, you will, on the recommendation of the captain, receive extra merits as a reward."

Many other schools have modifications of the above. Sometimes there is coupled with a simple plan of merits, a kind of premium system, for specific actions, as a good record in monthly school examinations. Sometimes when a boy has reached a certain stage of merit he has attached to his uniform a badge or "eagle" which is a prize much sought after. In the Missouri School the minimum number can be earned in fifteen months, but twenty is usually required. The Lyman School in Massachusetts has established a somewhat similar system, but without reference to its procuring release. This is the organization of an "Honor Class." Any boy may become a candidate for it by declaring his intention of so doing. At the end of two months of effort his name is considered before the teachers and officers, and, if his conduct is judged fitting, he is admitted to the class and has the privilege of wearing a decoration consisting of a bronze medallion of the knight Sir Galahad, attached to a red ribbon. If his conduct is correct for two months longer he wears his medallion on a red and blue ribbon. He now has certain privileges not accorded to other pupils. A further prize gives additional privileges, among which is that of visiting home.¹

¹ *Rep.* 1906.

According to the superintendent, the device has worked a salutary moral effect. Coupled with this is the device of giving a "loyalty prize" to that cottage which has a three months' record for no runaways. The report of 1905 indicates that this loyalty prize took the shape of money; \$3 for the cottage without a runaway for three months; an additional \$5 for six months; and so on.

For girls, the Indiana Girls School combines the merit system with the girl's love of variety in dress. "When a girl is received, she is placed in the second grade and wears a blue dress with a small figure or stripe and a collar trimmed with white braid. By earning a thousand merits which she can do at the rate of ten a day, she may be promoted to the first grade or honor class which is indicated by a dress of the same color but a different pattern. If she is unfortunate and earns demerits she soon finds herself clad in a gown of unattractive color, proclaiming a third or lowest grade, which means that she is deprived of many privileges enjoyed by the first-grade girls.¹

An interesting development of this system of merits is that which makes the merits consist of money with which the child is actually credited. It is often referred to as the English mill system. It is well described in the Report ² of the New York Juvenile Asylum issued shortly after the system was introduced: "A boy is daily credited with two mills by the teacher, two by the shop foreman, three mills for neatness and cleanliness and three mills for general deportment. Thus a boy may earn ten mills or one cent every day. This is ten mills of real money. Indifference leaves him at a standstill; bad conduct reduces his ledger balance. In introducing this rule, the Asylum assumes an obligation to pay an average of twenty-five cents per month per boy for perfect conduct, cleanliness and satisfactory progress in school and shop, or a maximum obligation of \$3000 per year. Heretofore about \$500 was distributed annually in a haphazard manner for

¹ *Bulletin of Indiana Board of Char. and Cor.*, Apr. 1905: 157.

² 1904.

rewards." While the use of the merit system in this institution is still looked upon as somewhat of an experiment, it is true that it has become more effective because the boy's merit record is now considered in arranging for release.

In the Baltimore House of Refuge there are three grades of inmates—Inmate, Cadet, and Graduate. Each boy is credited with 10 mills a day as follows: for morals (2), deportment (3), education and work (3), care of body (1), and care of clothing (1). For offences under these heads, of course, he loses the payment. "An Inmate who loses over 30 and under 40 mills during a month loses an advancement; for a loss of 40 or over he is placed backwards one month; otherwise he will be advanced one month." An Inmate who has been advanced for six months becomes a Cadet, and has the same income and 35 mills additional provided he loses not more than six mills a week. The conditions are the same, with some increasing rigidity as the Cadet ascends the scale, and when he becomes a Graduate his income is 10 mills per day and 70 additional for each week if he do not lose more than three mills. To obtain discharge from the institution the boy must have reached Graduate grade.¹

A few additional features of this system may be noted, showing the gradual emergence of an economic policy. For example, all mills credited upon the book have a money value and are redeemed at the office on release or for special privileges, as the superintendent "may consider wise." But "boys are charged for all careless breakage, damage to their clothes, expenses attending an escape, etc. Fines will be inflicted in cases of very bad conduct or special offences." A roll of honor is provided for those losing not more than five per cent of their mills for a month; and special privileges are granted the division having the highest percentage for a month.²

A system quite similar to the above is in use on the Berkshire Industrial Farm in New York, and all offences are punished by marking the boy on his mill account, he being ap-

¹ *Rep.* 1905.

² *Rep.* 1905.

prised at once of this fact. But in "no case shall a boy lose more than one mill for any one offence." What the mill account means in this school is indicated in the following: "The mill account ends Monday, and on Wednesday afternoon each boy whose account for the week shows sixty-seven or more mills receives a check which entitles him to four hours of recreation, while the boy who has less than 60 works the entire afternoon. This record also determines whether a boy may have the privilege of buying confectionery and by the same standard it is determined whether during the coming week he shall have the enjoyment of such sports as swimming, boating, skating, ball-playing, or an occasional drive to town with one of the workers.

"These earned mills give each lad a bank account which is kept in individual books by our bookkeeper, and is examined each week by the embryo business man. The credit side of the account is occasionally augmented by mills earned during play time, and sometimes by special rewards; while on the debit side appear fines imposed for offences for which marking a mill is not sufficient punishment. The interest which boys take in this ledger account would surprise those who have not observed it. It cultivates habits of industry, forethought, and economy. If a boy has any instinct for thrift it is encouraged and strengthened. One can hardly imagine the amount of business transactions which occur during twenty-four hours with these pasteboard mills for circulating medium. Upon this record depends monthly promotion in rank: each higher grade carries with it added privileges and rewards." ¹

Attention may here be called to the application of the same principle in schools which, while not technically reform schools, nevertheless face somewhat similar problems. The Baltimore Manual Labor School reports: "The matter of discipline, which is one of the most troublesome problems in all schools, has for us been very much simplified by the introduc-

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

tion of a monthly payroll for all boys performing any regular task, in connection with a demerit system. Each boy is charged with any infraction of the rules; the names are called each Saturday evening, informing them just how they stand for the week past. They have opportunity to cancel some of the demerits by especially good conduct for the next week or by additional tasks. Only those having a clear record at the end of the week receive any compensation. The plan has worked so well that in five months the percentage of 'perfect' has risen from 24 to 70 per cent."

The Thompson's Island Farm School of Boston has a graded system combined with a system of prizes for good conduct, special privileges for those with high grades, etc. But this community has developed a kind of sub-community with a largely independent economic existence. The Cottage Row is a series of small buildings begun by the boys in 1888 and since owned by a boys' corporation. Here trades are practiced and a full-fledged business system is maintained. Self-government is maintained, a bank and boys' trading establishment is carried on, and in other respects the Cottage Row is made effective as a means of discipline and training in moral independence.

In this connection many will recall the surprising success which in the George Junior Republic in New York has followed the system of making each boy economically dependent upon himself for not only the prizes and luxuries of life, but the necessities as well. It will be recalled that in that institution each boy works out, not only his own release, but his support also. Work is all paid for in a special currency, and each boy pays for what he needs in the way of food and shelter. The moral effects of this system seem to be very remarkable and there is good reason to believe that the plan will be extensively imitated.

About 1874 the Superintendent of the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys proposed a theory of education which is of interest in this connection. "A system of compensation or pay to all inmates, after reaching certain limits of age and good

conduct, for all the service rendered in the institution, and a charge for all which they receive—a system of debt and credit with each. If this could be so nicely adjusted that a boy, by commendable exertion and diligence, could make a small saving each week over and above his expenditures, it would furnish a kind of motive to action not usually felt by inmates in institutions of this kind. As things are now done we have little opportunity to cultivate economy. The boy is now fed and clothed whether he works well or not. He learns from the book that ten dimes make one dollar; still he has little idea of its value and less judgment how to spend it judiciously. In vain he is told the cost and importance of food, clothes, and home. He gets them free, and, like the air and the sunlight, he presumes that they, as a matter of course, are a part of his inheritance. All children are liable to this delusion; the children of the state pre-eminently so. This is seen in the destruction of books and tools. Take the book as an illustration. If the boy is charged seventy-five cents for a reader today, and he knows that when he is ready, say in six months, to be promoted or leave the school the value of the book will then pass to his credit, it presents a motive to care for it. The same of tools, clothes, etc. Another most valuable purpose would be met. When a boy escaped, the cost of his return could be met by the use of his funds and an assessment on the funds of those who were accessory. This would furnish a leverage to find out all who were involved, embracing in certain instances a large portion of the members of the family or shop.”^{1 2}

¹ U. S. Bureau of Ed., *Circulars of Information*, no. 6 (1875), p. 44. (For the period, this circular, entitled, “Statements Relative to Reformatory, Charitable, and Industrial Schools for the Young” is full of suggestive information.)

² In some of the French reform schools the boys receive marks which have a money value. From these the boy pays for small articles lost or destroyed which have a money value. With his savings the boy may purchase delicacies, or a more varied meal with wine. A canteen is maintained by the school for this purpose. See Spearman, *Fornightly Rev.*, 69: 626.

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8. MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Another device looking to an effective combination of moral education and the means of institutional discipline has been the development of military order. A certain amount of military procedure has always been common in the schools but not often has it been developed to the point of eliciting an active interest on the part of the boys and girls concerned. In some schools as the Philadelphia House of Refuge and the Ohio Boys School where considerable interest is taken in making military discipline effective, it is looked upon with much approval.¹ It is believed that its reaction on the physical body and through that on the moral character is well worthy of consideration. The problem that confronts the institution with regard to military discipline is to make it an effective means of education without allowing the exercises to fall into distaste. In the Philadelphia House of Refuge there is an annual review of the regiment, with the presentation of a flag to the best drilled company. In the parental school in Chicago, the John Worthy School, the squads of boys elect their own officers from an approved list of those ranking high in behavior. The Michigan School for Girls reports the introduction of military discipline which is now "no longer an experiment, but a great incentive for good work and one of the best preventive methods and aids to good discipline we have ever instituted. The effect is noticeable in the improved carriage and the increased vigor of mind as well as body, in the observance of rules, and greater respect for their officers."¹

The military life carried on in the boys' schools seems to have a marked effect on the after-careers of the pupils. A

¹ See full discussion of advantages in *Ohio Bulletin of Charities and Corrections*, Dec. 1904, p. 11.

surprising number of them are reported to be enlisted in the army or navy. In the early days of the reformatory movement it was even suggested that the army at least and possibly the navy be recruited by enforced enlistment from this class. In the English schools a large number of the boys trained to band music in the industrial schools enlist as drummer-boys in the regular army. Their training has peculiarly fitted them for this office.

9. PUNISHMENTS

Prison methods of discipline were, of course, the natural inheritance of the early reform schools and the struggle to throw off the most severe of these has been long and difficult. Corporal punishment, the straitjacket, and solitary confinement, oftentimes on insufficient food were once common, but the trend of sentiment has been against them and many institutions have found it entirely feasible to maintain wholesome discipline without resort to these aids. The general tendency in recent years has been to reduce corporal punishment and solitary confinement to a minimum and to hedge their exercise about with something of judicial authority and to make each punishment a matter of careful record with a view to preventing abuses. As in the public schools, there is a general belief that the complete prohibition of whipping would have a bad moral effect; but that by the proper development of other means of control, its use may or ought to be almost entirely dispensed with.¹

The history of the abandonment of severer methods of discipline has been, of course, part of the history of the development of a more humane and intelligent attitude generally towards children which has characterized the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections we find frequent discus-

¹ Allison, *N. C. C. C.*, 1902:250; Briggs, *N. C. C. C.*, 1897:121; *Rep.* (1904) of *Chicago Parental School*; Baker, *N. C. C. C.*, 1884:200; Olds, *N. C. C. C.*, 1900:200; Hoyt, *Rep. Nat. Prison Assn.*, 1899:71; Mo. Girls, *Rep.* 1904:23; also *N. C. C. C.*, 1902:426 for excellent discussion; Howe, *N. C. C. C.*, 1880:209.

sion of the desirability and feasibility of dispensing with punishments. Gradually examples were presented of schools which preserved as good or better discipline by mild measures as others were able to procure by severe ones. Where riots and outrages occurred it was often found that the discipline had been peculiarly severe. About 1899 riots and outbreaks occurred in various girls' schools in Colorado, Iowa, New York and New Jersey. The State Charity Aid Association of New Jersey instituted an inquiry among the schools of the country on the matter of discipline in girls' schools, and the assembled reports indicate substantial agreement on these points: (1) There should be little corporal punishment, and that very carefully supervised and recorded (the record not to be used against the pupil, but for the sake of keeping members of the staff within due bounds); (2) Discipline should be very largely individualized, each case being handled on its merits; (3) The deprivation of special privileges is a recommended form of punishment; (4) Careful development of a system of merits. (5) The use of unnatural or constrained physical postures as punishment generally objected to; (6) No male assistants should be used in punishing girls; (7) If solitary confinement is resorted to, it should be of a mild character; (8) Ample exercises and amusements should be developed to counteract tendencies towards obscenity.¹

Generally speaking, the managers of reform schools find that discipline is best maintained by steady and persistent occupation of a definite sort, coupled with more or less constant supervision. An examination of the program of any school will show that times of idleness occur very seldom; that unsupervised activities are allowed only to proven boys; and that school work and industry are so alternated as to produce a considerable but by no means undue amount of fatigue at the close of the day. When it is recalled that many if not most of the boys committed to these schools have led irresponsible and wholly disorganized lives up to this time, it can easily be

¹ *Char. Rev.*, 9: 436.

inferred that the peristent routine of work must soon effect a decided moral change. Hence we find the managers constantly striving to find forms of steady employment which shall not be too hard or expensive. Out of this knowledge, indeed, arises a strong justification for the older forms of productive manufacturing, where better work cannot be provided.^{1 2}

It is not improbable that at this point will be found one of the opportunities for greatly improved management of these schools. Only in recent years have educators realized the great importance of much free play and spontaneous activity in the life of the growing child. It is entirely probable that the boy or girl who has spent some years in a reform school under a steady routine of almost constant work, however mild that may be, but who has had little opportunity for play and free activity generally, goes out into the world permanently handicapped. A dull, mechanical, somewhat incurious and uninterested attitude is frequently marked in these children as one of the effects of "institutionizing." Grown to manhood or womanhood, these same people will be of the plodding, unambitious, and apparently shiftless kind. Of course our educational knowledge is yet insufficient to determine how much of this quality is one of the necessary products of weak heredity and early malnutrition; but there are good grounds for supposing that a more normal childhood, during the institution period, so far as play and free activity are concerned, would result in some marked differences in output. The problem is similar to that which confronts the advocates of child-labor legislation. They know that factory labor for children not only deprives the child of its educational opportunities, but, more significant without doubt, of the opportunities for a free and natural childhood with its accompanying development of physical powers, moral and esthetic instincts and mind.

How this ideal of a free childhood can be reached in the

¹ *Char. Rev.*, 9: 436.


² Briggs, *N. C. C. C.*, 1897: 121.

case of children who reach the institution already the victims of lawless tendencies and vicious habits, it is hard to say. From this point of view there is much to be said in favor of the small homelike school, situated far in the country, of the type of the Berkshire Industrial Farm. The use of the distant farm place for smaller children, as in the case of the Berlin home of the Lyman school in Massachusetts is another possible solution. In any of its aspects it is an interesting and tantalizing problem, but of the utmost educational significance.

10. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

No question connected with the conduct of reform schools has been of more absorbing interest than that of religious education. Those institutions which were established by philanthropic associations or religious bodies naturally made much use of religious education as a means of the moral regeneration of the boys and girls who had become moral outcasts. But the state institutions were perforce non-sectarian, although in each case, with them, provision has been made for some form of religious instruction. Inasmuch as practically all of these institutions have had, eventually, to become dependent upon the state for part or all of their support, the question has assumed the form as to whether private religious and corporate, or state, control of publicly supported institutions is the most desirable, in view of the fact that in the one instance only a small amount of religious education is feasible while in the other the entire atmosphere of the school may be made to assume a distinctly religious quality.

It will not be possible here to enter into this question. It is part of the much older and larger question as to what part may be played by religious education in character-forming. In the entire field of education it is yet an unsettled problem, but it assumes peculiar significance in reformatory education because there, in the most literal sense, character-forming and moral education are the chief work of the school. With other children the home and church play a principal part in



this education; but here entire responsibility devolves upon the school. There are those who sincerely feel that a thorough-going moral education is quite impossible without the presence, not only of religious people (because substantially all reform-school workers, in private or public institutions are that) but of a religious atmosphere which shall in greater or less degree permeate all forms of instruction and living. On the other hand, the workers in the state institutions feel that moral education, in the broadest sense of the word, is not indissolubly bound up with religious instruction; that it is something that can be and is produced by the association of the children with good and worthy people in all the work of the school. Coupled with this, they desire, of course, the religious example and instruction that can come through the weekly or more frequent attendance on worship which is arranged for the children of each denomination.

As heretofore noted, all English schools are under private control, receiving state support. "The great question of juvenile reformation has been hitherto recognized as one which no government can deal with effectively without the aid of the charitable and religious, and so it still is and always will be; we may and should continue to improve the method of treatment of our juvenile offenders, but there will ever be a large residuum of wastral population, if you will, which voluntary Christian effort alone can reach."¹ And from a more recent English writer who has been investigating methods in France: "To suppose that mere cultivation of the intellect itself is able to reform the disposition of the individual is an illusion. Such cultivation, unaccompanied by a religious belief and perception of duty renders but sorry service to society. The restricted interpretation of the word 'Education' to mere matters of memory and understanding often leaves the perverse and vicious 'will' to grow up undisciplined and uncared-for."²

¹ Maddison, *N. C. C. C.*, 1884: 195.

² Spearman, *Fortnightly Rev.*, 69: 626.

Various devices are employed in American schools, under state control and therefore necessarily non-sectarian, to procure religious instruction. Many of these schools are amply provided with chapel space. Almost invariably provision is made for worship separately on the part of Catholics and Protestants, and sometimes for Hebrews. The services of ministers in the locality are drawn on, and frequently the school is allowed to spend a small sum as compensation. If the schools are near cities Catholic Sisters may care for the instruction of girls of their faith, as in the case of the Michigan Girls Home.¹ The New Jersey Girls Home allows some of its girls to attend church in Trenton.² But, of course, where homes are built some distance in the country, this is not feasible usually, even if other considerations did not prevent. The Indiana Boys School and the Kansas Boys School have resident chaplains who also look after the parole work. Many of the schools have simple devotional services at rising, retiring, and at meals. It must be remembered that, except in the occasional unfortunate state where politics have used the school as a part of the spoils system, the members of the staff are selected with reference largely to moral character and are usually religious persons, even though in other respects they may have no marked ability.

Apart from the general debate on the question of religious instruction, one finds in the scattered literature of the subject, a possible consensus of opinion on certain points. For example, it seems to be generally believed that fairly mature girls committed to these institutions, who have gone wrong, are often most effectively reached by means of fairly concentrated religious instruction and appeal, producing the condition known as repentance or conversion. This has been, of course, one of the sources of the strength of the Refuges conducted everywhere by Catholic Sisterhoods for this class of unfortunates. While the state homes seem to have been very successful in dealing with female delinquency which has not

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

² *Rep.* 1904.

involved offences persistently carried on against chastity, there is considerable question about their success in dealing with cases of the latter character.

Again, in the Catholic Schools especially, the members of the staff are those who have dedicated themselves to work for others and as a consequence the force in any given school shifts less, the motives of the workers are surer, and the accumulation of experience becomes an important factor. Much of the success of the schools in England is attributed to this fact.

On the other hand, there is a fundamental question as to whether religious instruction as now carried on under all religious auspices, in view of conditions existing outside the school and which have usually affected the minds of the children prior to their commitment, can be effective in the large majority of cases and whether a direct attack on the problem of moral education as an end to be achieved by other means than religious education may not be the more effective course. As is well known, this aspect of the question has greatly affected French education, correctional and other, in recent years. Many American educators believe that reformatory education, primarily utilizing the agencies of personal example, free industry, well-planned intellectual education, and careful habituation, can, with that moderate amount of religious instruction which will be received sympathetically by the child, produce the best and most permanent reformation of character.

Other means of moral training have been tried and some have produced noticeable results. As will be noted under the head of school instruction, the use of reading and libraries is increasing in the schools. Because children of the class committed to these institutions have frequently been too fond of literature which has had a positively demoralizing effect, the first mistake usually made was to deprive them of all literature during their residence in the school. A hardly less grave mistake has often been made in providing literature

of a highly moral or didactic character and usually adapted only to adult readers. It would be amusing if it were not so educationally pathetic to look over the shelves in the libraries of some of these schools. Not infrequently large donations of books have been made by charitably minded persons, but these and the books purchased for the school have been little adapted to the moral or other development of the children. Better wisdom is now manifested by many of schools and attempts are being made to provide an abundance of that literature which is intellectually digestible and which is enough related to the development and character of these children to produce a distinct interest and moral uplift. The period of life which the majority of juvenile delinquents spend in an institution is one, as Pres. G. Stanley Hall insists,¹ which is crucial in the formation of the ideals and standards that subsequently play so important a part in the moral life. Literature which is wholesome and which is at the same time adapted to the capacity of the youth's powers of appreciation and response (a much more difficult test to meet) is highly productive, at this age, of the elements of moral character. Here and there, as we read the reports of the schools we find a slowly dawning recognition of this fact.

Finally, it goes without saying that all moral education in juvenile reformatories must derive its effectiveness primarily from the character of the men and women with whom the child is thrown in contact.² Bad devices and bad machinery may largely nullify the efforts of good men and women in this work; but good devices and machinery wholly lose their effectiveness in the hands of bad men and women or of cold and unsympathetic men and women. The merit system, for example, which was carefully detailed above because it is an important mechanical adjunct to moral education, may not only lose its effectiveness, if it is handled by teachers and officers who give way to resentments or who are unjust or unsym-

¹ Adolescence, *passim*.

² Fairbanks, *N. C. C. C.*, 1901: 258, for good discussion.

pathetic or of poor judgment; but, under such circumstances, it may provoke rancor and insubordination on the part of the inmates which is in the highest degree detrimental to character-forming. Punishment, again, as is well known, may be so administered as to produce good results or to produce most incurable resentment and a spirit of defiance to all authority. Religious training carried on by persons of mean character will, of course, not only fail to produce designed results, but may produce a positive effect in the opposite direction. The character of the men and women at the head of juvenile reform schools, apart from any machinery, greatly affects the moral work of the institution. In the earlier period of their development, the boys' schools or prisons did not have women officers; but later the introduction of women, first as teachers, and later as housemothers in the boys' institutions seems to have produced a most salutary effect. The homes on the cottage plan now almost invariably have a woman in charge of each house, and also women teachers in school and sometimes in industries. Where feasible, it is preferred to have a man and wife in charge of each cottage, each of course having other duties in the institution. In the best schools the Board of Managers select the superintendent very carefully and give him large authority in choosing his subordinates, to the end that he may pick and develop people having the right qualities to deal with their work. A few people, apart from the religious orders conducting some of the private schools, go into this work in a spirit of devotion; but this is uncommon in the state schools. But, given men and women of good character and earnestness and a large share of sense and sympathy, the superintendent is soon able to make of them workers having many of the desirable qualities. They learn to recognize the value of the work and soon develop a keen personal interest in the progress and fate of their charges.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF REFORM SCHOOLS (*Continued*)

II. LITERARY EDUCATION

To distinguish the kind of education customarily given in the public school from the various other kinds attempted by the reform school, it is usual, in these institutions, to refer to the former as "literary education." As such it will be designated in the following brief description. At the outset it is necessary to note that these schools are prevented by two conditions from making what might superficially be considered a brilliant showing along the lines of literary education. They deal with a class of children who have been largely discarded by the public schools or who have not shared in the advantages of the latter. As was shown in the discussion of children committed, the great majority grade far below the normal child of their age.

In the second place, these institutions, possibly not unlike many public schools, have been able to pay poor salaries to teachers, with the consequence that they could not obtain capable or enthusiastic teachers in the majority of instances. There can be little doubt that improved pedagogic knowledge and devices have penetrated the schools very slowly. Here and there we find evidence that classes of pupils, under the inspiration of some teacher have awakened into something like active interest in learning. But in the majority of instances the teaching is formal and the attitude of the pupils perfunctory. By means of incessant and prolonged drill, the children may learn to read orally with some facility, to write a very legible hand, and to perform easy mathematical work with some facility. But, partly because children of this class may not be capable of development to any great extent

in this direction, and partly because many teachers lack the finer insight and enthusiasm which is necessary to really successful teaching, it is questionable if great results are accomplished.

At any rate, in proportion as the state realizes the importance of this work, it will be found that there is a great field for education of a better grade for these children. When teachers are induced to give special thought and attention it will be found that many readjustments of older ideals and methods are necessary to the attainment of good results. The mechanical use of the traditional readers and arithmetics and other texts will ultimately be looked upon as a pedagogic barbarism, and, under better teaching, a variety of sources of interest in this work will be cultivated which are now seldom heard of. Considering the amount of earnestness and devotion now generally manifested by the teachers it is not difficult to believe that, with greater compensation from the state and greater inducements to study a more scientific education, results will be achieved which will be as much beyond those now attained as these are ahead of the practices of the early houses of refuge.

X In a general way it may be said that all the reform schools provide from three and one-half to four hours of literary education each day for the inmates. Owing to lack of funds or facilities, there are a few minor exceptions to this rule, but none are defended by the schools themselves. With this, of course, is alternated each day a considerable amount of work which is wholly or largely industrial in character. In some of the reports this system of alternation is commended highly and the belief expressed that the public schools will eventually find it to their advantage to adopt the same system.

In the school education chief emphasis is put on the formal branches of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and for two reasons. These subjects are the ones in which the deficiencies of the children committed are most manifest; and, furthermore, these subjects lend themselves most readily to the disciplinary atmosphere of the institution. It must be noted that

the teachers here are able to have a hold over their boys and girls such as the teacher in the public school cannot expect. The school government, the merit system, and the fact that the boy, out of school hours plays little and works much—all these contribute to the maintenance of a certain kind of order and application in the school room such as one does not find in the public school. Of course many teachers fail to maintain this order, but in that case they must leave the institution. A not infrequent complaint in the reports is the inability to find teachers who really can maintain order.

In the formal branches a most noticeable result is the high-grade penmanship which is produced. It is entirely possible that children of the class committed have unusual capacity for work of this character, calling, as it does, largely on the mechanical and imitative capacities. Possibly another explanation is found in the fact that this work, owing to peculiar conditions, functions significantly in the life of the child. All the children are required to write frequent letters, to parents if they have them, to others if possible; and this fact, that learning to write functions in actual utility, may account for the skill attained.

In recent years many of the schools are making much of musical education. In some, this is thought of under its vocational significance, since the boy who leaves the school able to take an effective part in a brass band has one fairly certain source of employment. The demand for this work has usually led to the introduction of a special teacher and, under these circumstances, where pupils are selected because of their interest and aptitude, the results come to be fairly noticeable. Of course the fact that the school is a military organization in some degree, also emphasizes the appropriateness of the subject and the opportunities it affords for display.

But there are other reasons for the extensive development of music. Undoubtedly it contributes much towards creating a better tone in the institution. "Though its practical value is small," says the Superintendent of the Wisconsin

Boys School,¹ "it has a most valuable refining influence and aids greatly in the moral training which these boys need above many other things. Both the singing-school and the brass band add much cheer and sunshine to the life of the school and deserve a liberal support. The school maintains a choir of 50 boys. Thirty boys also get the benefit of the band practice. An orchestra is also maintained among the boys." The New Jersey State School for Boys reports three distinct musical organizations with 93 boys taking regular work. The Girls Schools of Wisconsin, Iowa, Colorado and some other states pay much attention to music and not only find it valuable as an aid to the higher aspects of discipline, but they generally agree that their girls have much talent for the subject. It is rare to find any large modern reform school without extensive development of music-teaching.²

On a somewhat similar educational plane stands the teaching of printing, for this not only contributes to the learning of a practical trade on the part of some boys, but, through the publication of a local paper, in many instances, gives scope to the ability of the boys in writing and composition and provides all the boys of the school with literature of strictly local interest. The Industrial Schools of Louisville, Philadelphia, Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Indiana, and other places publish papers either monthly, weekly, or, in the case of the large school at Philadelphia House of Refuge, daily. The various schools publishing papers exchange among themselves, with the consequence that the work, along this line, of each institution is influential in affecting the standards of other schools.

A third feature of the more strictly educational work remains to be noticed. Many of the schools, in asking for more funds, emphasize the needs of a better stock of books for libraries. It seems to be a fact that, as formerly constituted, these institutions rarely made extensive provision for

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

² A considerable discussion of its value occurs in *Rep. Iowa Bd. of Control*, 1903: 721.

reading by the inmates, or if books were provided, they were of a kind more suited to adults, and possibly adults of a religious or ascetic turn of mind than to normal or possibly subnormal boys and girls. We have little difficulty in believing the scanty evidence on this subject, since it is only within recent years that the public schools have risen to any just appreciation of the educational value—moral, aesthetic, and intellectual—of extensive reading of the right kind for youths. A few schools, in their reports, emphasize the highly disciplinary value of plenty of good reading-matter. The common type of school, it will be remembered, is now organized on some approach to the cottage plan; and in the cottages an attempt is made to approximate home life by the provision of a parlor or other room for reading and quiet games. The Wisconsin Boys School which seems to profit by donations in this respect reports the popularity of such journals as McClure's, Success, Cosmopolitan, Harper's Weekly, Youth's Companion, etc. Under the stimulus, evidently, of the school, it reports a considerable demand for books on history, geography, etc.

There seems to be no doubt that, from an educational point of view, this side of the school work of these institutions is greatly under-developed. It can hardly be doubted that an abundance of literature, good in quality, and *adapted to the development and strong native interests of these children*, would make of nearly all of them ready and eager readers. This, as a factor in equipping them for moral self-development on leaving the school, would be of supreme importance. It is noteworthy that many city libraries are developing not only children's reading rooms, but are introducing librarians of special training to assist in selecting suitable reading for children and in introducing children to the reading provided. It seems not improbable that the reform school not many years hence will look for librarians not less skilled than are the teachers of music and printing.

As indicating the standards of some of the schools it is of interest to note that they are making use of the same course

of study as that found in the schools outside. Furthermore, teachers who have certificates or are graduates of normal schools are being demanded in a larger number of instances than was the case a few years ago. An occasional school that is situated not too far from town seeks to have the teaching done by teachers not resident at the school, but coming for that purpose only. As a rule, this is not practicable and there is little evidence to show that it is desirable, though some superintendents believe it would attract a superior class of teachers. What seems to be most needed in the literary education of these schools is a differentiation of work somewhat similar to that which has taken place in the industrial work. Each boy has to work; but the modern tendency is to help the boy select the work which will prove most to his taste and in which he can make the greatest progress. A certain minimum of reading and writing and spelling and number must be forced on all the pupils alike, under any circumstances; but beyond this, there should be some opportunity, in the school room, for the play of individuality and interest. Music, printing, letter-writing, and to some extent, the library now offer this; but it must be the mission of the school to greatly develop these opportunities for self-expression, for, from the pedagogic side, it is unquestionably along these lines that a large part of character forming and the fitting for independent adult life must take place.

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CHAPTER IX

THE PAROLE SYSTEM

THE educational work of the juvenile reform school culminates in the system of parole. This owes its origin partly to the practices of orphan asylums in 'placing out' children and exercising some oversight after they enter their new homes; and partly to the ticket-of-leave system which has long had some vogue in prison administration. In the reform school the two factors that have combined to give effectiveness to the parole system of education are the indeterminate sentence and the development of a special system of parole oversight.

The educational significance of the parole system is simply this: The child, committed to the institution at the age of, e. g., fourteen years, is sentenced to the custody of the school during minority. But any attempt to keep him within the school, except in most aggravated cases, would lead to a hopeless "institutionizing" of the plastic child. But, equally, it is undesirable that the boy or girl, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, still plastic, still subject to temptations, should be sent forth without guardianship. Adoption for children of this age and character is usually out of the question. Under the parole system an attempt is made to combine the care of the institution with the educative influences coming from independence and self-support. The school retains its legal control of his actions and prescribes certain conditions which he must fulfil as prerequisite to retaining his freedom. If the child has a home that promises well, he is sent to that; but if it appears that he would do better elsewhere he is kept as far as possible from his home influences.

The parole agency of the school then assumes charge of

him, to punish or return him to the school if he fails to observe the conditions, to aid and comfort him as long as he seems to be trying to live up to his obligations, and to protect him from imposition from employers or others. Under right supervision it can be seen that this constitutes an education of the most direct sort, and at the period when the youth is first venturing into the world of responsibility and self-control. He is now trying to find his place industrially and, even under the best of circumstances, it is a critical time.

A brief examination of the parole system, as it is found at its best, will show both its possibilities and necessary extent. After the pupil has demonstrated, by his improvement in behavior, and by his intellectual and industrial advancement, that he is a fit subject for release, his home is investigated by the Visiting or Parole Agent. If this is found suitable, efforts are made to secure the largest amount of co-operation in caring for the moral welfare of the boy or girl about to be paroled. The tactful agent is able to make parents see the conditions which formerly led the child into delinquency, and these are induced to take steps to provide for better companionship, control, and oversight. When the boy is released, the agent corresponds with him frequently, the probationer being obliged to report at regular intervals. In some cases parents, also, are required to make regular reports on the child's conduct and circumstances. A visit to the home is soon made by the officer and, in as tactful but effective a way as possible, the conditions surrounding the child are learned. Frequently the agent will have to lend his (or more often, her) efforts to procure some kind of regular employment for the child.

In case the home of the child is not suitable the parole agent has the more difficult task (but often more effective in the long run) of finding a home in which the child may be placed and where some special attention will be given, not only to the industrial side of the child's life, but to his moral and intellectual welfare as well. Here again frequent correspondence and visiting are essential, not alone to determine

whether the home and the child are bearing the right relations to each other, but to aid and give comfort to the child whose lonesomeness and discouragement during its first abode among strangers is very manifest. In the case of indentured or employed girls conspicuously, and largely in the case of boys, also, it is felt that the solacing effects of a fairly parental oversight in this way are beyond easy estimate in affecting the future of the child. Where children are placed among strangers a considerable part of the agent's work consists in giving the paroled children retrials. The satisfactory adjustment of a child to a strange home is difficult to make and very commonly the child cannot adapt himself, or the family are dissatisfied with the child. The resulting friction would lead to rupture of relations if the agent did not interfere.

It is evident that the fairly ideal supervision of parole would be similar to that exercised by a solicitous parent over a youth going out to independent employment. So far is this the case that in some schools the paroled child, if dissatisfied with the home in which he is placed, is expected to voluntarily return to the school pending the effort to find a new home. The correspondence between agent and pupil or superintendent and pupil has in it much of filial confidence and parental admonition and encouragement. Letters from the paroled children to the school may not be read by those with whom the child is indentured or employed. Remembrances at holidays and birthdays are sent and various other means of making the child feel that the home still retains an interest in his welfare are employed.

Frequently it has been feasible to interest local individuals in paroled children so that the supervision of the school may be supplemented. Some states like Massachusetts have been quite successful in developing and organizing these local agencies, which are necessarily volunteer in character. Efforts have been made to impose special penalties on persons inducing a paroled child to violate its parole, especially in the case of girls. A very effective means of control of children indentured or employed is to have the wages of the child paid

to the school, which makes the necessary allowance for clothing and incidentals and deposits the residue to be paid to the child on discharge.

Except, possibly, in the smallest states it is evident that the maintenance of an effective system of parole supervision is both a complicated and costly matter. It is possible that an extensive system of probation officers (as in the case of New Jersey) in connection with the Juvenile Court or the public schools might render adequate supervision more effective and less costly; but we are as yet only in the beginning of such experiments. But it has become increasingly evident that without such parole and supervision much of the work of the reform schools must come to naught.

For reasons mentioned, we find that the development of parole work is very irregular in the various states. The regular staff members of the two schools in Rhode Island, the Sockanosset Boys, and Oaklawn Girls, undertake the supervision of the paroled and discharged children, which is somewhat possible owing to the compactness of the state. The results of an imperfectly developed parole system are strikingly described in the Biennial Report of the Girls School of Iowa:¹ "As the situation now stands it (the existing parole system) is simply a dead letter. When I took charge of this School April, 1900, I found upwards of 60 girls on our books as paroled. Less than one fourth of these made their regular quarterly report. An investigation revealed the fact that they had either become careless or indifferent regarding the conditions under which they were permitted to leave the institution, or had left the homes to which they had been sent, in some instances becoming vagrants and wandering from place to place. Others, again, married for the purpose of throwing off the restraint of the institution The care of these children while in the institution is not a matter of great moment, but to make our work effective, and if we would protect them after they leave

¹ *Rep.*, 1901.

our institution until they show by their conduct and habits that we would be safe in discharging them from our care, it will be necessary to have an agent appointed, whose duty it will be to look after these unfortunates, or else keep them under our care here, giving them a good common education and training them thoroughly along the lines of domestic employments, thus practically placing our institution on the basis of a female seminary, or industrial training school. The latter is by far the best solution of the problem under existing conditions, and it is certainly for the best interest of the girls committed to our care." In a subsequent report¹ the Superintendent indicates that he is carrying out the last mentioned policy, the average term of residence of girls discharged being, for the first year, 3 years, 21 days, and for the second, 4 years, 1 month, 2 days. It will be of interest to learn how these girls, after their long period of institutional residence "every moment of the day or night each and every one of them (being) under the supervision of a lady official" succeed in their after-careers.

But the parole of its inmates is frequently the only recourse of an institution to prevent hopeless congestion of numbers. Most schools of this character are crowded; new inmates are being sent in, and the school is greatly tempted, apart from other considerations, to give the more promising boys and girls a trial with freedom. Hence it is customary to give parole to those who have deported themselves well on the assumption that these youths will take care of themselves in the world. The Missouri State Training School, for example, which partakes somewhat of the character of a State Reformatory, allows "a boy who complies with every rule and applies himself diligently to his tasks to secure his parole at the end of fifteen months." The paroled boy, under these conditions, may be returned if he violates the conditions of the parole. But with no school or state agent to supervise the carrying-out of the parole, it is difficult to know when its

¹ *Report Board of Control, Iowa, 1903: 713 and 734.*

conditions are being observed in spirit. Though this school receives boys up to the age of 18 and the average term of detention is 20 months, there is no report of pupils recommitted for violation of parole. It must be noted that in states where careful parole supervision exists the number returned to the school is always large.

A girls' school which seems to succeed without the aid of a parole system under direction of the school is the Michigan Industrial School for Girls. A large number of its inmates are "contracted" (during two years from 1902 to 1904, 199 were discharged and 169 contracted) and the major portion of the wages of these girls is retained by the institution, a part of which may be used to pay the expenses of the return of the girl if she violates her parole. Carefully prepared blanks are filled out and a list of suggestions given to both employer and employee. The employer reports to the school quarterly. Other supervision is exercised by the "County Agent" of whom there may be one for each county, appointed by the Governor. These agents who are "agents for the State Board of Charities and Corrections for the care of juvenile offenders and dependent children" in so far as their duties concern children paroled from the institutions are in reality responsible to the officers of those institutions.

A not uncommon stage in the evolution of the visiting agent, is to have that work performed by some officer connected in other capacity with the school. The parole work of the Kansas Boys Industrial School which in 1902-4 paroled 262 boys is in charge of the chaplain of the school who escorts boys to their homes or places of employment and who finds in the occasional visiting "opportunity to extend pastoral supervision over them, and to confirm in them whatever good impressions they may have received while in school." Indiana, which has provided an extensive system of state control and supervision of its orphans (a State Agency for this purpose having been established in 1897), also leaves to the chaplain of the Boys School the supervision of the children on parole. "My duties as parole agent have been

quite varied," writes the chaplain in the Report of the School for 1903: "The work which needs to be done is quite great and is not adequately provided for by the State. It appears that careful supervision of paroled boys accomplishes much good. It makes them more careful of their conduct when an agent may be expected at any time to examine their records. It gives the School added opportunity to direct the boys' efforts and thus continue the work begun in the institution. . . . No regular system of visiting has been attempted, as with present facilities this is impossible. Many cities having large numbers of paroled boys have been canvassed with more or less frequency." The Report of the State Board for 1905 indicates that the parole work for Indianapolis has been taken up by the County Juvenile Court.

The Baltimore House of Refuge has combined in one office the functions of physician, dentist, purchasing agent and visiting agent. As the average number of boys to be looked after is less than 100 and the area presumably not large, a considerable amount of effective supervision is possible. Much more extensive is the work done by the parole officer of the Cincinnati House of Refuge who also holds the office of Assistant Superintendent. During the year 1903-4 he had over 600 children (606 at end of year) under supervision. 167 cases were paroled during the year, 28 were placed in homes, and 31 were recalled "mainly on account of delinquent parents." The magnitude of the work undertaken is suggestive.

While the superintendent is frequently in authority over the visiting agent, it is only occasionally that he is obliged to perform, himself, the duties of this office. The Superintendent of the Maine State School for Boys reports in 1904 that there were out on leave 61 boys. "Good reports have been received from most of the boys out on probation" he says. "Some of these boys I have personally visited in their own homes or the homes which we have found for them, and nearly all the others have been visited by some officer whom I have sent for that purpose. In many cases these visits seem to have done great good, and both the boys and their parents

or persons with whom they are living generally express an earnest desire to have these visits made as often as practicable." In the girls' school of the same state a like condition seems to prevail, for among the enumerated duties of the principal are the following (Sec. 10): "Whenever a girl is placed out at service, the principal shall keep a record of the person, residence and employment of the employer, and of the service and terms for which the girl is employed. If the principal receives notice of the ill treatment of the girl, or of any circumstances unfavorable to her remaining longer at a place, it shall be the principal's duty to examine into the case at once, and take such steps in reference to it as the good of the girl requires." In 1904 this school had 64 girls under its charge "in homes" of whom 42 were working for wages.

Several schools report that provision has lately been made for state agents. The 1904 Report of the Indiana State Board calls attention to the good work accomplished by the agent of the Indiana Industrial School for Girls, resulting in a very material reduction of the number of girls returned to the institution. The Report of the House of Reformation for Colored Boys at Cheltenham, Md., for 1903 indicates that the work of the parole agent has but recently been begun and that its results are exceedingly favorable. About 75 boys were placed during the year. In 1903 the Report of the Ohio Boys Industrial School pointed out the need of a Visiting Agent. The Report for the next year indicates that the legislature had given the school two boons: a law giving the institution custody of the boy during minority; and provision for a Special Parole Officer or Visiting Agent.

This agent has secured positions for a number of boys, has investigated their homes, and when boys are paroled keeps in touch with them by visiting them. "He has also kept in touch with the various juvenile courts. Altogether, the work has been very satisfactory, and so far we have found it necessary to return but four boys for violation of parole" (the number of boys paroled during the year was 375).

The State of Illinois has been for some time wrestling with

the problem of supervision of its child wards. Some of the institutions for juvenile delinquents now have their own agents, but the Resolutions Committee of the 1903 State Conference of Charities favored a comprehensive law for a state system. The adoption of the resolutions indicates the sentiment of the charity workers; but in the complications of legislative action the proposed bill was so modified as to fail to receive the approval of the State Board of Public Charities.¹ The proposed bill, after providing that all institutions caring for dependent or delinquent children (and receiving any sort of public aid) should make adequate reports to the State Board of Charities of all children placed out, adds (Sec. 3) "It shall be the duty of the State Board of Charities to appoint visitors, not exceeding five in all (compensation not to exceed \$75 per month, etc.) . . . It shall be the duty of said visitors to visit children placed in homes, etc."

The recently reorganized New York State Training School for Girls has the following features of parole. A girl under 15 at commitment may not be detained longer than her 18th year, and girls of 16 or 17 may not be detained longer than three years. (b) Within these limits the sentence is indeterminate, and the Board of Managers may parole or discharge a girl at discretion. (c) Parole is made dependent on behavior and on the likelihood of the girl's doing well outside. (d) "Every paroled girl is visited several times a year by the parole agent, and is required to send a monthly report, approved by the person in whose care she is paroled." (e) Any inmate violating terms of parole may be returned to the institution; and, on the other hand, she may be discharged from parole when she gives sufficient promise of good behavior.²

The possible extent of the work of parole supervision may be gathered from the report of the Visiting Agent of the Boys

¹ *Report of Board of Public Charities, 1904*, p. 6 and 442.

² From a special circular of information issued in Nov., 1904.

Department of the House of Refuge of Philadelphia.¹ During the year 1904, 1034 boys were under the care of the agent. "There were written during the year 3166 official letters, besides 199 directly to the pupils, and 2496 visits have been made to the homes of the boys." Six boys under charge of this agent were returned from indenture, 11 were sent back by friends, and 26 were recommitted by the courts. The agent also keeps track of boys enlisted in army and navy. Even the boys who are returned to their homes are aided in securing employment. "The boys who have enjoyed the training in our own trade schools find no difficulty in obtaining lucrative employment."

The Agent of the New Jersey State Home for Boys, reporting in 1904 shows that he had under his supervision 580 boys of whom 60% were at work and doing well, and 10% were at school. He gives a suggestive table showing the earnings of the indentured boys (ranging from \$25 per year and clothing to \$180 per year and clothing, the average being \$60 per year plus clothing); while the Superintendent's Report shows the amount which boys attaining their majority had on deposit. 67 boys had \$50 or less to their credit, 24 had from \$50 to \$100, while four had over \$100. The earning and saving of this money during the period of parole is, of course, an important educational factor. It may be noted here that this and other institutions have adopted a modified form of indenture which lessens the control of the employer. This has been done because so frequently it was found that the boy or girl could not be adapted to the home and another must be tried. In the case of the New Jersey State Home for Boys the boy is put with the employer for a month or more on trial; if it is found that he "will fit in," the boy is indentured for a year at a stipulated wage; and at the end of the year the contract may be renewed at an advanced sum. It is evident that a plan of this kind must derive much of its effectiveness from the degree of supervision and visiting made

¹ In *Annual Report*, 1905: 31.

by the agent. It is interesting to note in the reports both of this and of the Philadelphia House of Refuge that the agent takes the part of the boys in several cases where disturbed relations with employers are reported. "Bad advice by farm hands in the neighborhood" seems to go along with the unsympathetic attitude of employers as a cause for many boys failing to "fit in" in case of indenture.

Among other schools that have a carefully developed system of parole and parole supervision directed by an officer of the school specially charged with this work are the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls where the results seem to be exceptionally good; this school has an "Honor Home," where the girl lives for some time under very normal and free conditions in order to determine her eligibility for release. Having less than a hundred girls under charge at any one time the agent of this school is able to give her charges much individual attention. About three-fourths of their girls return to relatives and the remaining fourth may have, in individual cases, several retrials before being finally located satisfactorily. Resembling this school in many respects, the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls which also has its own visitor who takes girls that have qualified themselves by residence in the "Model Home." Having also less than one hundred girls on her list, she is able to give some individual attention to them and the results as reported seem fully to justify the work.

There remains to be described, finally, a few schools which have had an especially successful development of parole supervision on a large scale and under state auspices. The Connecticut School for Boys has a State Agent who visits from 320 to 350 paroled boys.¹ In his report he gives details as to their employment, moral condition, and some information also as to their careers after discharge. He notes that, while formerly the tendency was to select homes for the homeless boys in such a way as to put them most speedily into good work financially, now he seeks to make home considerations

¹ *Rep.* 1905: 22.

as affecting character-building, of first importance. The state agent here collects the wages of the boys, and in many ways acts as an agent for procuring employment. He is able to give a fairly definite statement as to the condition of those under his charge. It is of interest to note that the annual expense of this department is \$1,990 or slightly over \$6 per child dealt with. In no other respect, of course, is the paroled child a charge upon the state.

More extensive still is the work done in connection with the Lyman School in Massachusetts. The total number on the visiting list of this school for 1905 was 1073, and at the given date of October 1, 1905 there were 862.¹ Barring a small number (56) on the unknown list, the whereabouts and occupation of each of the boys is known; a list of occupations is given; and it is possible to keep track of the moral condition and to return boys who have not adapted themselves to external conditions. About half the boys, on leaving, are sent to relatives, the remainder either being placed at work or "boarded out." There is every evidence that the work of this agency is highly productive in the social sense. The cost of the department to the state was \$9,005 for the year 1905 or in the neighborhood of \$10 for each boy on parole.

Similarly effective is the work of the State Agent in Minnesota. This Agency, at a total cost of \$3,877 for the year ending July 31, 1904, supervised the parole of over 400 boys and girls. The Agent during two years traveled 25,043 miles by railroad and an unknown number "by team, in street cars, and afoot." The results of this oversight are partly visible in the detailed statistics which are presented; but its moral effect in keeping in order the boys and girls paroled cannot, of course, be shown or estimated.²

Only passing notice can here be given to what seems to be in many respects the most complete system of parole supervision to be found in girls schools. In connection with the

¹ *Rep.* 1906: 40.

² *Report Minnesota State Board of Control*, 1903-4: 267.

Massachusetts State Industrial School at Lancaster is a Probation Agency which in 1905 cost the state \$7,499 or an average of \$25 for each of the nearly 300 girls on parole. But the results of the almost maternal oversight which is thus made possible are evidenced in the detailed statistics of results which occupy twenty-three pages of the 1905 report, and which will be employed later in this study. Some very interesting conclusions and recommendations grow out of the careful studies made by this Agency, among others with reference to the girls who are somewhat feeble-minded and for whom no system of probation can be effective in preserving them against the untoward influences of their environment.

A curious and very suggestive modification of the parole system is found in connection with St. James Home, a Catholic institution of Baltimore. This home receives "any inmate of St. Mary's Industrial School (who is) considered proficient and sufficiently strong for contact with the world, upon recommendation of the Indenturing Committee (of St. Mary's) or the Superintendent of the School subject to the approval of the Indenturing Committee; and any destitute or homeless boy between the ages of 12 and 18 years . . . if he expresses a willingness to become a member of the household, to work for his living at any employment or occupation to which the superintendent may assign him, and to contribute out of his wages the sum of \$2 weekly towards the support of the home." Again, "Each boy, whether from St. Mary's Industrial School or taken as a boarder, in addition to the board rates, shall pay for his clothes, which may be made in St. Mary's and supplied at cost to each inmate of the Home."

"The Superintendent is permitted large discretion in retaining boys as inmates of the home. While it is his positive duty to dismiss worthless and lazy boys, in his discretion he may allow worthy boys, who earnestly seek work and fail to get it through no fault of their own, to remain in the Home for a reasonable period. But the aim and object of St. James Home is, that the inmates shall make it self-supporting; consequently, back dues shall be paid as soon as employment is

obtained.¹ This Home had during 1903-4 an average attendance of 93 who were employed in various capacities in Baltimore and who resided at the Home and received night-school and religious instruction. "It is very gratifying moreover, to know that the majority of the employers prefer to have our boys, as they seem to possess a sense of conscientious duty."

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¹ *Rep.* 1904: 57.

CHAPTER X

RESULTS

As has been seen, the average term of detention of the boy or girl in the juvenile reformatory is in the neighborhood of two years. For younger boys it may be longer, as also for those who manifest few signs of reformation. When the institution has done its work, the child is returned to the care of parents or other relatives, or is placed with other people who are bound to give him right care. It is now that the work of the institution is tested. Will the rapidly maturing child go into the world with character permanently changed, with power to resist the temptations of his environment, and with increased intellectual and industrial capacity?

Many papers on the work of these schools commonly assume that a large percent of the inmates turn out well, or, in other words, are equipped to go through social and vocational life with fair record. Unfortunately very few institutions have had disposition or means to make careful studies in this direction, and one is disappointed to find how inadequate is the data by which it would be possible to form an effective judgment as to the results of their work.

In the first place most of the tests of what the school does for the boy depend on whether he is rearrested for the commission of crime. The boy's original commitment having been for a crime, and the work of the school being primarily devoted to steering him away from paths likely to lead him into violation of law, it is assumed that if the boy is kept clear of that and keeps in communication with the school or visiting agent, the work of the school is justified. However inadequate this standard, it is, nevertheless, all that may reasonably be expected. Moral and industrial efficiency, apart from the primal qualities of being self-supporting and law-abiding are very complex, and almost incapable of measurement.

Nor is the standard of the schools altogether an inadequate one. Dealing as they do with the social residue, they *have* achieved good results when they have succeeded in making the boy self-supporting and law-abiding and the girl self-supporting and free from parasitic vice. If this result is realized in a large percentage of cases it would certainly justify the existence of the schools, however much might remain for further improvement.

A second difficulty found in trying to determine the results of the work of the institutions is found in the fact that very many of them have not the equipment wherewith to find out the facts. The child on discharge is still under the care of the institution, and may be recommitted for violation of parole. But if there are no agents to visit and otherwise keep in touch with the children discharged, there is little likelihood that records can be kept which furnish a true record of accomplishment. It is true that, in a general way, those in the institution, trusting to general reports and secondary information, can form a fairly accurate judgment as to what are the results achieved. These expressions, when sincere (and they usually seem to be), are of some value in a general way, but cannot satisfy the need for exact statement. Before the development of the parole system, it was practically impossible for the institution to obtain reliable information, especially in the larger states. Long before organized and salaried parole work was adopted, the schools secured the services of interested and philanthropic people who undertook to keep track of the discharged children; but this was inadequate and certainly has been of little value in providing definite data as to the final careers of the pupils.

A third consideration in this connection has to do with the matter of time during which the paroled inmate is under observation, and also his age at parole. It is quite conceivable that in many cases the institution's training, added to the fear of returning and the more than usual care exercised temporarily by parents or the home in which the child is placed, might prevent any noticeable fall from grace at first, and

yet all the while the child would be progressively degenerating and in the course of a year or two later would show no traces of institution training. Of course, opposed to this is the fact that as the child rises towards manhood he becomes increasingly resistant to degenerative influences and more appreciative of the advantages of right living and action. So the object of the school is largely attained if it tides the child over the critical part of its career and lands it safely on the other side. Maturity and good habits are now its equipment and it should assume responsibility for its own future.¹

In view of the diverse character of the various reports made by institutions regarding results of their work, it has been found impracticable to assemble the statistics so as to make a comprehensive showing. The best that can be done at this time is to take from the reports of those schools that make an attempt to present such statistics, their statements of results. In view of the fact that an effective parole system and the keeping of careful records are in themselves important factors in the reformatory work, it may well be assumed that the showings made by the schools cited are above rather than below the average of excellence.

Chaplain Nutting, in the Report of the Rhode Island Board of State Charities and Corrections for 1903 says: "During the last seven years 1962 boys have been discharged (from the Sockanosset School for Boys), while out of this large number only 68 have since been committed to jail or prison, as shown by the books of those institutions,—less than three and one half percent"² (of course this does not include the number who might have "gone wrong" in other states).

In his Annual Report for 1903, the Superintendent of the Ohio Boys Industrial School speaks of the need of an appropriation to permit the record officer to visit the boys (which

¹ In England it is generally conceded that industrial and reform schools have greatly reduced crime. See Trevathan, J., *Hooliganism*, 19th Cent., 49:84; Drew, A. P. W., *Hooliganism and Juvenile Crime*, 19th Cent., 48:89.

² *Rep. Rhode Island State Board*, 1904.

apparently had been done previously in few cases). The Report for 1904¹ calls attention to the fact that the last legislature created the office of Special Parole Officer or Visiting Agent. This agent "has also investigated, as far as possible, the condition of all boys that have been paroled during the past two years and practically seen all the boys in the State of Ohio who have gone out during that period. We find that about 80% of them are doing well."

The Report of the Visiting Agent for the New Jersey State Home for Boys² notes that he "has visited the home of each one of the boys before being paroled to ascertain the fitness of the same. I found some of the homes so poor and unhomelike that I thought best to place the boys on farms near the School where I could more easily keep in touch with them and where the surroundings would be more elevating."

Further on he says: "I have visited (as is customary) the paroled boys who are still under 21 two or three times in the past year where it was possible. Ten boys paroled last year have moved from the state; two have joined the navy; and a few others have been lost track of through their moving. I have returned 26 boys who have broken their parole, and three boys have returned voluntarily. I have under my supervision at present 580 boys.

Sixty per cent of our paroled boys are at work and doing well, about ten percent are at school, being quite too young for work, and I find 30 per cent who are not doing quite as well as I would like. If I find it impossible to straighten these boys out during the coming year, I will be compelled to return them to the school."

The Visiting Agent of the House of Refuge of Glen Mills, Pa., reports³ that during the year 1904-5 he has had charge of 1034 boys. Of these 9 absconded, 17 were returned either by friends or from indenture, 26 were recommitted by the courts, 14 were sent to other punitive institutions, and 2 are under care of probation officer. Of the 1034 boys, com-

¹ P. 9.

² *Rep.* 1904: 41.

³ *Rep.* 1905: 31.

plaints were made of 101 in some form; and justification was found for the complaints in 73 cases. In other words, to quote the Visiting Agent, "This shows that over 90% have done well, and about 10% badly."

In the table of statistics for paroled pupils of the Kansas Boys Industrial School it is shown that 178 white and 88 colored pupils paroled are doing well, while 47 white and 25 colored are "not doing well." That is, 78% are doing well.¹

The Indiana Boys School made an effort in 1902 to trace the history of its former pupils. As a result of prolonged correspondence, results were obtained which may be expressed best in the words of the superintendent:

"Our statistics showed that 2132 boys had been released on ticket of leave for the ten years beginning November 1, 1890 and ending November 1, 1900. Of the number released, 1269 boys replied to our letter as employed and doing well. Six hundred and fifty failed to respond to the request, while 152 have gravitated to other penal institutions, and 61 were reported dead. With these figures before us, we find, by combining the unknown 650 with those incarcerated elsewhere that 60% have done well. But assuming that one half of 650 (which is a very conservative estimate) have made respectable citizens, we increase to 74% the number doing well. We have not used the 61 dead in our calculations. If we count the year 1901, making a period of 12 years, we increase our ratio ten per cent thus making 84 per cent of paroled boys released for eleven years ending October 31, 1901 as becoming useful, self-respecting men."² (He also admits some doubt as to whether all reporting themselves "doing well" are really that).

The same school, in its next report,³ has the following figures regarding the 1572 boys under 21 who are still subject to the jurisdiction of the school (some of whom, of course, must have been paroled for several years). Of the 1572, 576 were still inmates of the school; of the 996 out on parole 47 were dead, 20 in Army or Navy, 37 in various State pris-

¹ *Bien. Rep.*, 1904: 13.

² *Rep.* 1902: 23.

³ *Rep.* 1903: 26.

ons or other penal institutions, 8 escaped, 10 released as feeble-minded, 178 not reporting regularly, and 696 still reporting. According to the interpretation of these figures there are from 70% to 80% of "doing well" cases. Apparently the parole-visiting possible to this institution at the date of the last report available (1903) was only that of the chaplain who discusses the great amount of travelling which is necessary, and also speaks of system employed. But he says: "No regular system of visiting has been attempted as with present facilities this is impossible. A visit to any town is usually called forth by a need for investigation of some case in it."¹

The Connecticut School for Boys has a State Agent and his Report² indicates that careful data are kept of the careers of the boys. Reporting October 1, 1905 on the 322 boys then under parole, he gives 28 cases on the "unknown" list, three out of the state, 4 in the U. S. Army bands, and the remaining 287 in occupations of which a detailed list is given. Many of the boys (56%) are in factories or learning trades. His report cards for the entire 322 show: 278 or 87% doing well; 36 or 11% doing doubtfully; and 8 or 2% badly.

The State of Minnesota gave, in 1895, a State Agent to the Minnesota State Training School, and who gives in the Biennial Report of the State Board of Control³ a discussion of the results of the work which shows intimate knowledge of the problem. "After more than nine years experience in the work I feel that I speak with less confidence about final results than I spoke the first year I was in the work. The good of today is so often the bad of tomorrow, the bad of today is so often the good of tomorrow that judgment halts and statistics but approximate the truth." Again she says: "Now that we have the assistance of probation officers in our three large cities, and now that the work is recognized and known all over the state, our sources of information have increased until we sometimes almost wish that we might enjoy a little blissful ignorance." To indicate her

¹ *Rep.* 1903: 41.

² *Rep. of Board of Trustees*, 1905: 22.

³ 1904: 267 *et seq.*

equipment: "We have quite an elaborate and complete system of record, the time of an office assistant being almost entirely taken up with that work and with the mechanical work, which the large correspondence and the many books of reference entail."

During the nine years of the Minnesota agency there were 1862 departures (on parole), representing 1499 individuals. This indicates a large number of "returns," for the Agent declares that it has been the policy of the institution to prevent institutionizing by relatively early parole, and return if the parole has not been faithfully observed. Boys and girls on furlough must report in writing once a month, and failure to do this, with the amount of service available by the Agent, makes return almost certain.

The statistics given in the report are hard to interpret so simply as in previous cases (possibly because of the more intimate knowledge of the agent), but some valuable inferences may be made from the following, for the Biennial period ending July 31, 1904: Of 423 boys leaving the institution, 312 are furloughed within the state, 34 in other states, 15 have leave of absence or discharged, 2 died in school, 19 were transferred to State Reformatory, and 41 escaped. Of 346 boys now under furlough 173 were at work (farm, trades, miscellaneous), 10 were out of work, 23 were at home attending school, 30 were lost track of or outside of jurisdiction, 2 were in state reformatory, 3 had been returned to school under new commitment, 85 had been returned to school and 36 of these were again out, 14 were in distant states and dropped from roll, while 2 were dead and 3 were in U. S. army or navy. The specific interpretation of these figures is thus seen to be an impossible task, though the table does show reason for believing that the school is doing much good work, while keeping careful count of its probable failures.

Since the behavior of the boys on furlough is the real test of the work of the school, it is of interest to examine some additional statistics as given by the Minnesota Agent. Of the 192 cases returned to the school for violation of furlough or

other reason there was a relative absence of distinct offence in the case of 71 ("from leave of absence," "out of work," "improper government at home," "unsatisfactory conduct but no criminal charge"); there was distinct offence ("petit larceny," "grand larceny," "burglary," "drinking," "tramping," etc.) in the case of 88; and 33 were escapes returned. As showing the efforts of the school at retrial, it is noted that of the above 192 cases, 71 had been out but the once (when returned), 57 had been out twice, 9 three times, 2 four times and 1 five times. The time that had elapsed before the furloughed boys were returned was less than a month in four cases; one month in ten cases; two months in eleven cases; three months in eleven cases; more than three months and less than a year in 56 cases; from one to two years in 47 cases; and from two to five years in 14 cases.

It must be remembered that this school receives pupils up to the age of 17, and that the average term of detention is (for first commitments) 21.6 mos.¹ The Superintendent says: "We frequently get children in their teens that know more of actual crime and sin than some men found in State prison. If children are so bad as to necessitate committing them here, then let me plead that they be left alone and allow us a fair chance to help them and not bring pressure for their release, thereby hindering the children, as well as us in our efforts by creating in the mind of the child the idea that he is being unnecessarily kept or unjustly dealt with."² He also complains of the present (1904) law of commitment. "The raising of the age limit a few years ago from sixteen to seventeen years was, in my opinion, a mistake, and it should be amended to make it what it was before the change."³ It is to be noted that of 271 commitments during the biennial period 1902-4, 37 were seventeen years old, 69 sixteen years old, and only 38 under twelve years.

The statements of the last paragraph are not given to explain the work of the school, but to more fully illuminate the relatively very complete account of results as shown by the

¹ *Rep.*, p. 260.

² *Ibid.*, p. 251.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Report of the State Agent. There is much in that report to justify her somewhat pessimistic but perfectly frank expression¹ in the Report of the State Board of Control: "An intimate knowledge is often discouraging. Optimism feeds oftener on fancies than on facts, and I think you will find that it is true that those who quote surprising percentages of the reformed count to the good all those who have dropped out of sight and of knowledge. The institutions which give the highest rate of those who have been reclaimed have no outside agents and rely only on chance hearsay and their own abounding faith as to the majority of their so-called facts. I do not see how any intelligent work can be done without the aid of field agents in supplementing the work of the institutions and in procuring careful supervision over those who are let out on trial. The result of such careful supervision will not only be enlightening but disappointing in the knowledge that facts force on one." As one examines carefully the reports of the ninety to one hundred schools of this country, one is struck by the absence of definite facts as to work accomplished, and the presence of optimistic suppositions. Of course the schools are only partly to blame for this state of affairs. It has not been customary for any institutions of public service to follow up the results of their work in a desirable way; the public is slow to give any aid for this purpose; and the difficulties are great. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that an important function of the work of the schools is this after-supervision and record of results.

There will be presented finally the record of results of reform school work which have been kept for years by the Lyman School of Massachusetts. This school receives boys up to the age of 14 and retains authority until the children reach twenty-one. Release is earned by good conduct. The average time spent in the institution is 20.4 months. There is a well organized system of visitation and correspondence by means of which careful track is kept of the paroled inmates. The following table² shows the condition of those coming of age at each period.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

² *Lyman School Rep.*, 1905: 8.

TABLE NO. 10.
SHOWING THE MORAL CONDITION OF THOSE BOYS WHO REACHED 21 YEARS OF AGE IN EACH YEAR.

	1893.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Doing well .....	.42	.46	.53	.58	.61	.69	.60	.60	.58	.70	.62*
Not doing well.....	.....	.03½	.02	.03	.02	.02	.02	.01	.02	.02	.05
Have been in other penal institutions.	.35	.35	.30	.31	.22	.22	.24	.22	.29	.16	.12
Out of the State.....	.....	.01½	.04	.02	.08	.01	.07	.02	.01	.02	.08
Lost track of .....	.23										
Doing well at last account .....	.....	.09 } .14	.07 } .11	.02½ } .06	.04½ } .07	.06	.....	.....	.08 } .10	.05 } .10	.01 } .13
Not doing well at last account.....	.....	.05	.04	.03½	.02½	.....	.....	.....	.02	.05	.12

* The falling off from the 70 per cent. doing well in 1904 is accounted for by the larger number in 1905 who have left the State or whose whereabouts are unknown, and whose conduct is thus unclassified.

This table includes a number of cases that have been transferred to the State Reformatory at Concord without having been on probation. Deducting these, the Visitation Department of the school finds that of the paroled cases that reached majority during the year ending September 30, 1905, there were 75% "Doing well without question" of those who had been placed on farms, while 69% of those released to parents or relatives were in that category. Six per cent of those placed on farms are recorded as doing "badly" while 13% of those released to parents or relatives are thus classified. 15% and 12% respectively fall into the category "Unknown," and 4% and 6% are doing "not so well, but self-supporting."

The following tables from the Report of the Lyman School¹ are self-explanatory in this connection:

TABLE NO. 11.

SHOWING CONDITION BY AGES OF ALL BOYS OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL, SUBJECT TO ITS CUSTODY, ALSO INCLUDING RUNAWAYS FROM THE SCHOOL AND THOSE TRANSFERRED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS REFORMATORY.

Condition of all boys under twenty-one on probation to Oct. 1, 1905:—

Doing well.....	648 or 69 per cent.
Not doing well.....	70 or 7 per cent.
In some penal institution.....	109 or 11 per cent.
Out of the State.....	44 or 5 per cent.
Whereabouts and condition unknown.....	81 or 8 per cent.
	<hr/> 952

Condition of boys under twenty-one on probation one year or more:—

Doing well.....	446 or 64 per cent.
Not doing well.....	63 or 9 per cent.
In some other institution.....	82 or 12 per cent.
Out of the State.....	40 or 6 per cent.
Whereabouts and condition unknown.....	63 or 9 per cent.
	<hr/> 694

Condition of boys under twenty-one on probation two years or more:—

Doing well.....	416 or 67 per cent.
Not doing well.....	52 or 8 per cent.
In some other institution.....	82 or 12 per cent.
Out of the State.....	35 or 6 per cent.
Whereabouts and condition unknown.....	55 or 9 per cent.
	<hr/> 617

¹ Rep. 1906: 53.

Condition of all boys under twenty-one on probation who complete their nineteenth year before Oct. 1, 1905:—

Doing well.....	110 or 65 per cent.
Not doing well.....	16 or 9 per cent.
In some other institution.....	23 or 13 per cent.
Out of the State.....	6 or 4 per cent.
Whereabouts and condition unknown.....	16 or 9 per cent.

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Condition of all boys under twenty-one on probation who complete their twentieth year before Oct. 1, 1905:—

Doing well.....	99 or 58 per cent.
Not doing well.....	19 or 11 per cent.
In some other institution.....	27 or 15 per cent.
Out of State.....	11 or 7 per cent.
Whereabouts and condition unknown.....	16 or 9 per cent.

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Condition of all boys who complete their twenty-first year before Oct. 1, 1905:—

Doing well.....	94 or 62 per cent.
Not doing well.....	6 or 5 per cent.
In other penal institutions.....	19 or 12 per cent.
Out of State.....	12 or 8 per cent.
Lost track of:—	
Doing well at last accounts.....	2
Not doing well at last accounts.....	18
	<hr/> 20 or 13 per cent.

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It will aid in the interpretation of the above to remember that the average age of boys on release is about 15 years (1901, 15.5 years; 1902, 14.42 years; 1903, 14.5 years; 1905, 15.3 years) and that the average time spent in the institution ranges from 19 to 20.5 months. The extent of the visitation may be judged from the fact that in 1905, 1102 visits were made to boys over 18 years of age, or an average of 1.9 per boy; and that 1217 visits were made to boys under 18 years of age, or an average of 2.4 visits per boy.¹

We have thus far been considering the results as attained

¹ *Rep.* 1906: 43.

by boys' schools only. Owing to the somewhat special character of the tests which determine whether a girl is "doing well" after she leaves the institution, and the somewhat greater accessibility of information regarding her career, and the fact that "unknown" may be generally taken as synonymous with failure, it is probable that results in the case of girls' schools are more ascertainable and more reliable. Here again, relatively few schools make an effort to publish statistics, even if they have them. The estimates that follow represent, as a rule, the best attempts in this direction.

The State Industrial School for Girls of Colorado¹ reports of 33 paroled cases that 25 are doing well; 4 not doing well; and 4 "conduct not known." In a footnote: "Of the 118 girls that have passed from the custody of the school by discharge and expiration of time, I have knowledge of only twenty-six. Seventeen of these are doing well—nine not so well. Thirteen of the seventeen are married, and the worst are living fairly respectable."

The Chicago Refuge for Girls, formerly the Chicago Erring Women's Refuge which receives a few inmates up to 18 or 19 years of age reports: "Of the 9 newly paroled in 1902, 7 are good; of the 29 paroled in 1903, 21 are good; and of the 16 newly paroled in 1904, 14 are good. Of the 54.8 are doubtful and 4 returned to former life. Nine violated parole and were returned and seven of those who have been released a second time are among the 42 doing well. . . . This report shows, therefore, that among the juveniles of the school the number reformed are seven-ninths of those committed, and it will be seen that the long term of residence in the Refuge at a formative period in life is the patent factor in reform."²

The Report of the Missouri State Industrial School for Girls shows that this school keeps careful track of its paroled pupils. Sixteen is practically the maximum age of reception and the school may refuse to retain those "who

¹ *Rep.* 1902: 25.

² *Rep.* 1905.

shall be found incorrigible or improper subjects for admission." Dealing, then, with a somewhat amenable class of girls, the school gives the following report of girls discharged during current biennial period: Of 42 girls, 12 are married and doing well; one is unhappily married; one is married and separated, but doing well; 6 are at home doing well; 17 are working and doing well; 3 are doing badly, and 2 have been lost sight of. The occupations of those working are given. "Leaving out the two whom we have lost sight of, the one unhappily married, and the three who are doing badly, it gives 85.7 per cent of our discharged girls for these two years prosperously settled in life." Again: "This is an encouraging gain over the per cent of two years ago, our records showing the per cent of former years to be: Eight years ago, 70.8 per cent; six years ago, 70 per cent; four years ago, 72.6 per cent; and two years ago, 76 per cent."¹

The Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls has a visitor whose report is of interest. "The present biennial report not only maintains the improvement mentioned in the last one, but shows a gain in conduct of the paroled girls over the preceding one. As before, more than one-half are classed under the head "doing well." To this add the number of "doing fairly well" and instead of three-fourths, as last reported, five-sixths of the outside girls are doing about as well as they can in the family life." (Girls are received up to 17, but most are under that age; and of paroled girls less than half are returned to their own homes). The exact figures of the Visitor's record are: (for two years) Girls doing well, 86; fairly well, 41; badly, 6; conduct doubtful, 7; gone astray, 7; married, 10; married well, 7.²

The Oak Lawn School for Girls of Rhode Island has had, between 1882 and 1904, 490 girls, of whom 444 have been released. "A careful examination of the record books shows that 13 of the 444 were subsequently committed to the Jail or Workhouse and House of Correction, but not to any States Prison. The books also show during the same period that 25

¹ *Rep.* 1904.

² *Rep.* 1904.

girls were transferred from the School to the Workhouse and House of Correction for incorrigibility . . . This is deemed a good record, it being less than three per cent. We hear many good things of the girls who have been released in recent years. Some are teaching in public schools." (Report of Supt. Eastman in 1904 An. Rep. of (R. I.) Board of State Char. and Cor. p. 43).

The Connecticut Industrial School for Girls has a Visiting Agent who keeps closely in touch with the school and helps place the girls on parole. There is good evidence that her means of following up the girls and keeping records are quite efficient. "During the last ten years we have sent out from the school 509 girls. Very nearly 87% of these have done well continuously. 67 girls have made it necessary to drop their names from the above list. Of these, however, 25 have recovered themselves and are now doing well. Adding these to those who have done well since leaving the school, we have 91% who at the present time merit favorable mention. In giving the above percentage of those whose lives at the present time are a success, we have made chastity the basis of such record."¹ This Home receives girls up to and including 15 years of age. Some of the girls, when committed are already hardened and criminal, and naturally it is with these that the greater number of failures occur. In an interview, the agent stated that from 84% to 86% of the girls "make no trouble" after being paroled; 6% "make mistakes, but recover;" and 8% are lost. Of those entering with a criminal record, 67% are permanently reformed. As affecting the possibilities of the School for permanent results, it is noteworthy that it is much opposed to having the age limit raised to 18 years.

The Massachusetts Industrial School for Girls preserves and publishes very careful and detailed records of its pupils. The following abridged table is from a much detailed table on p. 100 of the Eleventh Annual Report of the Trustees of the Lyman and Industrial School (1906).

^A

¹ Rep. 1904.

TABLE NO. 12.

SHOWING CONDUCT OF ALL GIRLS WHO HAD, EACH YEAR, BEEN IN THE CARE OF THE SCHOOL FOR ONE YEAR OR MORE INCLUDING THOSE WHO HAD PASSED OUT OF CUSTODY THAT YEAR.

	1891-96.	1896-01.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.
Living respectably, not in the school	1090 69%	1290 57%	293 57%	297 57%	287 53%
Conduct not known	117 7%	251 11%	45 8%	52 10%	59 11%
Conduct bad or doubtful.....	182 12%	225 10%	48 9%	50 10%	50 9%
Conduct not classified.....	196 12%	495 22%	128 25%	124 24%	146 27%
Total	1585	2261	514	523	542

In the above table, those whose conduct is not classified are the pupils still in the school (who have already resided there for more than a year) and a few who are defective or insane, but not in penal institutions. To get at a more practicable estimate, therefore, of results, it might be better not to consider these in estimating the percentages. Calculated on this basis we find that the percentages "Living Respectably" for all the periods given above are 75%; of "Conduct not known, 12%; of Conduct bad or doubtful, 13%."

This interesting and valuable report contains many other detailed statistical statements which can only be referred to here. For example, a table is shown correlating the conduct of the girls after parole with the offences for which they were committed. It is shown that of girls committed for immoral conduct, 65%, 78%, and 67% for the periods 1896-1901, 1904, and 1905 are classified as "Living respectably;" while of those committed for "Danger of immoral conduct," 72%, 83%, 88% are so classified for the same periods; and of

those committed for "stubbornness, larceny, drunkenness, etc." the percentages are 75%, 86%, 53%.

A very curious showing is made by the table¹ which attempts to correlate results with the age of the girls at commitment. This shows that of the girls over 16 at commitment, 77% are in the "Living respectably" class, while of those under 16 at commitment only 71% are in the class. The statistics are for only one year, however, and present nothing conclusive.

The resident status of the 533 girls still under 21 on September 30, 1905 on parole and in the custody of the state is shown to be:² On probation with relatives, 62; on probation in families, earning wages, 136; at work elsewhere, 5; at other school, self-supporting, 7; at board, 1; married, but subject to recall for cause, 50; whereabouts unknown, 31; discharged from Reformatory Prison, 4; in other institutions (Hospital, Insane asylum, School for Feeble-minded, etc.), 28; in the school, 209. Of 132 individual girls who, having been on probation, were recalled to the school during the year, the cause in 51 cases was blameworthy conduct on the part of the girl; while in 81 cases there was offence ranging from "unsatisfactory" to "unchaste conduct."

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

CHAPTER XI

THE JUVENILE COURT AND PROBATION

THE Juvenile Court and the Probation system have come in recent years to be regarded as necessarily complementary of the work of the reform schools. The progress of the juvenile court movement has been very rapid and, in some respects, it is yet on trial. But, from the broadly social point of view, there can be no doubt as to its desirability and effectiveness when certain administrative difficulties shall have been overcome.

The functions of this court are, in the main, two: In the first instance, it is simply a court designed to deal with the delinquent child in such a way as to prevent the wrongs which necessarily follow when the child is dealt with by the same methods as are employed in the case of adult criminals. The students of this side of the administration of justice have long felt that to subject a child whose offending against the laws might be explainable on the grounds of thoughtlessness or parental neglect to the regular police court processes was to do much toward making of him a criminal. Hence the setting apart of a special court bears many resemblances, as a social movement, to the earlier movement to establish separate prisons for children.

In the second place, it becomes the function of the juvenile court to make extensive use of the penal principle of releasing on probation, or suspending sentence during good behavior. The establishment of a special machinery for the trial of youthful offenders must soon develop the fact that the temporary or accidental offender may be completely redeemed by his parents, or, in the last analysis, that these may be compelled to take better care of the child. In England the sen-

tence of birching or whipping, under judicial sentence, is still a favorite method of dealing with those children whose conditions warrant the belief that commitment to an institution would do more harm than good. American practice does not recognize the whipping, but the juvenile court soon finds that other expedients are not less useful, but probably much more so.

The next stage, naturally, is the development of the probation system. If the court suspends sentence, it does so, subject to certain conditions which the youth and his parents must fulfil. The adequate working of the probation release seems to demand that probation officers shall be provided to oversee the execution of these conditions. Public opinion has proven slow to approve the expenditure of any money for this purpose, so in many cities voluntary service must be called into requisition with its accompanying uncertainty and lack of training. While most excellent work is being accomplished in those cities depending upon volunteer probation officers, it is generally recognized that the successful prosecution of this work must ultimately depend on carefully selected and adequately paid officers, such as we now find in states like Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and others.

What amounts, in effect, to a third stage in the development of this work of dealing with juvenile delinquents is the making and enforcing of laws dealing with parental responsibility for juvenile delinquency. From the standpoint of social welfare it is to be hoped that Colorado (a decided pioneer in juvenile court work) will be able to carry out effectively her remarkable "Adult Juvenile Delinquency" Law. Section I of "An Act to provide for the punishment of persons responsible for or contributing to the delinquency of children" reads:

"In all cases where any child shall be a delinquent child or a juvenile delinquent person, as defined by the statute of this State (Colorado), the parent or parents, legal guardian, or person having the custody of such child, or any other person, responsible for, or by any act encouraging, causing or con-

tributing to the delinquency of such child, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon trial and conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not to exceed one thousand dollars or imprisonment in the county jail for a period not exceeding one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment. The court may impose conditions upon any person found guilty under this act, and so long as such person shall comply therewith to the satisfaction of the court the sentence imposed may be suspended." ¹

This law has already been enforced against careless parents, against employers who send children as messengers to saloons or other unfit places, against brakemen who allow boys to play or loaf about cars and train yards, and many others who can be proved to contribute to child delinquency. This system, conjoined with a compulsory education law, a child labor law, and the existence of parental and state reform schools constitutes an extensive machinery designed to prevent the making of criminals.

Some enthusiasts have imagined that the effective prosecution of work of this character would finally render the reform schools unnecessary. This seems improbable in view of the facts. It is a fact that a considerable number of children prove to be quite beyond their parents' ability to control, however earnest the latter may be. To this number must be added those children who are unfortunate enough to have parents who, whatever the law and whatever the penalties, have neither the character nor the ability to meet their responsibilities. In addition, it is fact that a large percentage of the children now committed to reform schools are from "broken" homes—homes of divorced or separated parents, or where one member is dead— or are without homes. It is entirely conceivable that an adequate development of the legal and voluntary child-saving agencies might take earlier cognizance of these cases than is now possible, and so prevent the boys and girls from so degenerating as to make it impossible to "place" them in

¹ Quoted from "The Problem of the Children" (p. 53), *A Report of the Juvenile Court of Denver*, 1904.

suitable homes. But a considerable number of these will always be recognized as necessarily "institution" children, and for this social residue the reform school will have its place.¹

As has already been noted, it is entirely probable that the careful development of the probation system will result in giving to the reform schools a harder class of children to deal with. The boy who has been put on probation once or oftener and has failed to prove by it, will go to the institution already well hardened. And very many whom the institution now receives, who are rather victims of circumstance than criminal, and who therefore prove easily amenable to the discipline, will not be sent. But on the whole there is no reason to suppose that a fuller and more rational development of child-saving machinery will render state institutions for juvenile reform superfluous.

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¹ See *Ind. Board of Char. Rep.*, 1904: 48.

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CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

CONSCIOUS social control or, more broadly, conscious social evolution, is carried on through the exercise of a number of agencies. In primitive society the offender against the laws and customs of the group was killed or expelled. At a later stage, he was often preserved, but as a slave, or, possibly, he was sold to others. A rising appreciation of individual rights tended to withhold the death penalty for ordinary offences and later to prohibit certain forms of enslavement. A merciful religion did much to protect neglected childhood, even centuries ago; but only very recently has the state come to recognize it as a social duty to give more attention to the prevention of offence and somewhat less, possibly, to the punishment of the already guilty offender.

The evolution, then, of the juvenile reform school in its present manifold aspects is but one of the chapters in the story of the evolution of society as self-consciously seeking its welfare and through that the welfare of its individual members. Probably it has long been recognized by individuals here and there that the prevention of disease would be cheaper than the cure and that less human suffering would be involved; but society at large only laggardly comes to recognize this fact, and even then it finds its knowledge of means to be but scant. So, long ago, some men recognized that education and a protected childhood would do much to relieve society of many social diseases, but hardly today does a sufficient number of individuals grasp that fact to make it a matter of social knowledge and action. There is no lack of money in our American states to build prisons, but the reform schools are difficult to establish and support. Philanthropy established many of the

schools and still believes that the state cannot be trusted with their management.

Measured in actual monetary returns to the community, it is doubtless true that the probation system which takes the child under guidance before he has become really criminal and the parole system which carefully helps the reform school youth to set himself up in the world are the most highly productive agencies of our penal machinery; but, at present, they are the least generously supported.

In the body of this paper there have been pointed out from time to time the probable channels along which further development of juvenile reform schools would run. A more perfect classification of the children into groups where mutual intercourse would prove most helpful and least harmful; the development of increased opportunities for free and spontaneous play; the development of industrial training which would make the child more conscious of the purpose of his efforts, even at intermediate stages; and the enriching of the school work by a greater appeal to the self-active tendencies of the child at certain points—all these seem to be well on the way to realization. At the one end the schools are seeking a more intimate relation with schools for the feeble-minded and with reformatories so that a transfer of cases manifestly suited to the latter institutions can be easily effected; and at the other, the better development of truant schools, special day schools for pupils needing individual treatment, the juvenile court and probation system will tend to screen out all those capable of treatment differing from that offered by the reform school. As a factor of the reform school the parole system must be much more highly developed, since at present in most states it does not suffice to bring to the institution desirable knowledge as to what becomes of its paroled children, let alone to help and force these to maintain a right standard of conduct.

It seems to the writer that there are two or three lines of development which have, so far, been but little more than suggested. The first has to do with what may be called the

economic instruction of the child. Just as it was long ago discovered that the child offender is the child with little prospect of a vocational education unless helped thereto by hands other than those of his natural guardians, so we must also learn that the child delinquent both as delinquent and as institution child is in no position to acquire those fundamental habits, appreciations, and knowledge which are essential to economic independence and rectitude. Economic independence does not grow merely out of ability to earn; it is fully as dependent upon ability to spend and to appreciate the value of that which is earned. Institution life, as all workers therein know, has a strong tendency to defeat the growth of true economic capacity. All that the child consumes is supplied him by the state, often in better amount and quality than to his former fellows who have behaved better. No amount of verbal instruction can overcome the wrong tendencies thus started. The fallacy current among some that the world owes every man a living is, if anything, emphasized by institution treatment. But, of course, it is something more than mere attitude of mind that is objected to here. It is the entire body of habits and knowledge which one acquires through experience and rarely in any other way.

On page 144 reference was made to an ideal suggested thirty years ago by the then head of the Wisconsin Boys School. Every one knows something of the ideals and to some extent of the achievements of the George Junior Republic. Somewhere along these lines, the writer is convinced, will have to be looked for a further development of juvenile reform school work. Possibly some modification of the wage system now in vogue in two or three reformatories whereby the inmates receive a daily wage, graduated according to the character of their work and behavior, and out of which they pay for their own support will be evolved. It is possible that this is the logical outcome of the "Mill" system of merits now being introduced, the latter being but a toy form of what the reality will be. The writer believes that the justification of a fully developed system of objective economic teaching is fully as necessary as that of industrial education.

In the second place, it seems highly desirable that some institution should consciously direct itself to the training of workers in juvenile reformatories. At present in spite of the annual meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections and the more recently organized National Conference on the Education of Backward, Truant and Defective Children, it takes institution workers, especially beginners, a long apprenticeship to learn much that should be made easily accessible. Experience is an invaluable teacher, but the trend of all education is towards an intensive combination of experience and theory for a short period to give the worker the most effective start possible in his work. What the normal schools have done for teaching should be done by some central school for reform school workers. This school should, of necessity, be made part of some existing reform school where the opportunities for concrete and objective work would be at a maximum. Such a school as this, engaged in training young men and women for a legitimate field of work, would soon accumulate a body of organized experience which would greatly further the development of this field of education.

Finally, it is to be noted that in two important respects the American public school system has thus far failed to profit by lessons which the work of the reform schools obviously teaches and along which lines there is great possibility of rendering unnecessary the work of these schools. The first is in the matter of industrial training. Unquestionably the failure of the public school at many points to make an effective appeal to its pupils and its failure also to send them forth better equipped for usefulness is found in the absence of any sufficient form of industrial training. Possibly the introduction of manual training indicates the beginnings of something in this direction, though at present it can hardly be said to accomplish much. Somehow the opportunity to learn the elements of certain trades should be offered to many children at the age at which they now get restless in the ordinary school classes or fail to keep up with the work. In the second place, the

public school as at present organized has but one system of classification, and that based on degree of intellectual attainment, though in a few cities we find the "ungraded room," or "special room" indicating the beginnings of something in the direction of a reform of the accepted classification. There can be no doubt that the effectiveness of the public school system for a large number of children would be greatly increased by the introduction of systems of classification according to dullness or aptness or good or bad moral character (as judged by school discipline). And it is entirely conceivable that there should be some classification along the lines of strong interest in school education. If there were in the schools more industrial work, it would be desirable to follow the example of the reform schools and allow boys to take up special forms according to talent and interest. A classification to some extent based on this principle would enable teachers to adapt their work much more to the special needs of classes of children than is now possible.

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NOTE.—Most of the material used in this study was obtained in the published reports of the schools, in the reports of State Board of Charities, and by personal visitation to twelve of the schools. I am under obligation to Mr. Homer Folks for the use of a large number of older school reports. Usually no reference has been made to school reports used (except in case of direct quotation), since they are not obtainable in libraries. The references in the following list have been consulted, though in many cases no use has been made of their contents. (The abbreviation, N. C. C. C., is used for the Annual Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections; and Proc. N. E. A. for the Annual Proceedings of the National Educational Association.)

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